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Zholkver Comments on SALT II Anniversary

LD1706205388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 17 Jun 88

[Text] Let me remind you that tomorrow is the ninth anniversary of the signing of the Soviet-U.S. strategic arms limitation treaty. Over to our political observer, Aleksandr Zholkver:

On 18 June 1979, along with the many journalists gathered in the Austrian capital, I was present at the signing of the SALT II Treaty. All those lucky enough to be in Hofburg Palace in Vienna on that day were conscious of witnessing an event of great importance. For the first time, the military and strategic parity between the Soviet Union and the United States of America was documented and acknowledged. More than that, both sides undertook not to build up their nuclear armories, and set limits to them. This was to have served as the point of departure for subsequent arms reduction. Unfortunately, that did not happen.

It was not just that the Washington administration of that time, President Carter's, never ratified the treaty; it went further, in that the U.S. military-industrial complex succeeded in launching a new spiral in the arms race. The infamous Pershings began to roll from the production lines of U.S. factories. Eventually, the United States took the step of directly exceeding the SALT II limits by increasing the number of their strategic bombers carrying long-range cruise missiles.

Our country adhered to the terms of the treaty. Yet I think the time came when we, too, allowed ourselves to be drawn into taking retaliatory measures and building up our armaments. At the same time, it was becoming even more obvious that in our threatening age of nuclear missiles, the security of states is not a direct result of the quantity, or even the quality, of the arms that they have stockpiled.

New thinking in foreign policy has become an integral part of our restructuring. And its most vivid manifestation has been the Soviet-U.S. treaty on medium- and shoter-range missiles, which means not limiting or even reducing them, but totally eliminating two classes of nuclear weapons.

It is not just that the path from SALT II to the INF Treaty has lasted 9 years. For both sides it has been a path of interpreting the characteristics and laws of the modern world, of seeking mutually acceptable compromises, a path of realism and goodwill. On that difficult path, the 18 of June 1979 in Vienna will remain a noteable milestone.

SALT II, Strategic Arms Treaty Assessed

LD1706164788 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 17 Jun 88

[Text] Saturday 18th June is 9 years since the Soviet Union and the United States signed a treaty to limit strategic arms, known as the SALT II Treaty. Radio Moscow's Yuriy Solton believes that the treaty has helped curb the arms race, even though it has never been ratified by the United States.

One may recall, he writes, that the treaty was criticized by both those who supported it and those who objected to it for limiting production of strategic arms without clearing the way for a real cut in overstocked military arsenals. One can agree with this, but there is something else worth remembering. First, the two nations confirmed the possibility to agree on the most powerful weapons. Second, they worked out an approach to solving the problem that took into account the principle of equality and equal security. And third, they officially exchanged information about the strategic arms available to each side and outlined methods of verification. In short, the SALT II Treaty has been working for the relaxation of military tension.

The Soviet Union and the United States bear in mind its key provision now that they are working on an agreement to slash by half strategic offensive arms: 13,000 powerful nuclear warheads are to be scrapped in addition to the 2,500-odd intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear missiles to be abolished soon under the treaty that was signed in Washington last December. So, as we can see, the two nations are beginning to move toward real nuclear disarmament.

I do believe, Yuriy Solton writes, that the Soviet Union and the United States can sign an agreement to slash strategic arms in the framework of the ABM Treaty. At the Moscow summit, Mikhail Gorbachev told President Reagan he believed the agreement could be signed before the year was out, and if so, he was ready to meet with the President again. When Ronald Reagan returned home, he, too, said he was ready for another meeting.

To be frank, one doubts the administration in Washington to be able now to adopt the final political decision whether to sign or not. When the White House discusses the decision, it will probably take into account the election campaign in the United States.

One holds an optimistic view of the future even though no agreement for cutting back strategic arms is completed this year, and one can be convinced that it will be signed soon, writes Yuriy Solton.

Obukhov Marks SALT, Disarmament 'Milestones'

LD2006102388 Moscow TASS in English 0957 GMT 20 Jun 88

["The Difficult Milestones of Disarmament"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow June 20 TASS—"SALT-2 is an important milestone on the way towards disarmament, but the treaty on strategic offensive arms, on which Soviet and American experts are working now, has qualitatively different characteristics—it can open up an era of a real cut in the strategic offensive weapons on the basis of far-reaching mutual control measures," said Alexey Obukhov, ambassador at large, who represents the USSR in the group on the strategic offensive arms at the Soviet-American talks in Geneva. "Time and tide wait for no man—the arms race may outrun the efforts by the participants in the talks. This shall not be allowed," the Soviet expert noted in talking with TASS diplomatic correspondent Vadim Biryukov.

The veteran of the Soviet-American talks, who participated in drafting the SALT-2 Treaty, which was signed in June 1979 as a result of an effort of seven years, believes that albeit that document was not ratified by Washington it restrained for a certain time a growth of the number of the delivery vehicles of nuclear warheads. It was only in December 1986 that the United States unilaterally went outside the framework of the treaty and has exceeded the limit by 31 heavy bombers by now.

The SALT-2 Treaty provided for control only with the use of the national-technical means of control. Now a ramified inspection system has been added to that. Despite that, the sides have so far failed to reach agreement on the central component of the treaty on the limitation of strategic arms—control over sea-based cruise missiles. It is believed in the United States that such a control is impossible and proposed that the sides only exchange statements of intent. One cannot help drawing the conclusion that they overseas wish to evade a cut in their potential of sea-based cruise missiles. One cannot help remembering the phrase said by Ambassador Paul Nitze way back in 1983: We will besiege the Soviet Union on all sides with long-range cruise missiles.

The Soviet Union holds a fundamentally different stand: "We favour the introduction of a whole system of control over the sea-based cruise missiles—observation of the facilities for the production of them, the places where they are loaded into the naval ships, where they are fitted out with nuclear warheads, inspection in any naval ship, and at last, long-distance control through flying over naval ships," Alexey Obukhov said.

Any agreement is a result of efforts by the two sides, the more so of such a scale as the treaty on strategic offensive arms. It calls for cooperation and practical preparedness to respect each other's mutual security interests and it also calls for a political decision on disarmament. "The signing of a treaty on strategic offensive arms is impossible without a well-controlled limitation of sea-based cruise missiles, since in absence of a reliable control system the U.S. side will preserve a channel for bypassing the treaty on strategic offensive arms," Alexey Obukhov believes.

Obukhov Criticizes SDI Chemical Laser Project

LD1706112888 Moscow TASS in English 1054 GMT 17 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 17 TASS—"The report that a component of the Alpha chemical laser, intended for the SDI programme, took place [as received] in the USA, is evidence that the American side is preparing to deploy arms systems in space," Ambassador at Large Aleksey Obukhov, the Soviet representative at the strategic offensive weapons group at the bilateral Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva, said today.

Work in this direction, conducted in the USA, he said in a TASS interview, creates unfavourable conditions for preparing the draft treaty on a 50 per cent reduction of strategic offensive weapons. The conclusion of this treaty is possible only if the ABM Treaty is preserved in the form it was agreed at the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Washington. "It is impossible to limit strategic offensive weapons on earth and at the same time to engage in preparations for extending the arms race into outer space. This is an irreconcilable contradiction," commented Aleksey Obukhov.

UN Sent Detailed Report on Disarmament Talks

LD1706192088 Moscow TASS in English 1805 GMT 17 Jun 88

[Text] New York June 17 TASS—The Soviet mission at the United Nations has sent a note to the United Nations secretary general in which, in response to a request of the international community, it informs the United Nations in detail on the course of the Soviet-American disarmament talks.

The Soviet approach to the talks on nuclear and space arms is based on the stage-by-stage programme of totally eliminating nuclear arms in the world by the year 2000 outlined in Mikhail Gorbachev's statement of January 15, 1986, it is said in the note that was distributed here today as an official document of the third special session of the United Nations General Assembly on disarmament.

Questions of reducing strategic offensive arms in conditions of observance of the ABM Treaty hold the central place in the Soviet-American dialogue on security issues. Progress along this direction—in conditions of fulfilment of the INF Treaty—would objectively facilitate the lowering of the risk of a nuclear conflict and lead to a greater stabilisation of the military-political situation in the world as a whole. Substantial work has to be done for the treaty on strategic offensive arms to become a reality. On its part the Soviet Union will continue its vigorous efforts to achieve progress in preparing the treaty on the 50 per cent reduction of strategic offensive arms in conditions of observance of the ABM Treaty and will display the necessary constructiveness, flexibility and readiness to compromise.

The prohibition of nuclear tests, the note says, was and remains a priority task of Soviet foreign policy.

The speediest conclusion of a universal and verifiable multilateral convention on the prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons is another Soviet priority in the field of arms limitation and reduction. Here the

USSR proceeds from the premise that the future convention should effectively ensure the full and universal prohibition of the development, manufacture and stockpiling of chemical weapons in any form whatsoever, the elimination of the stockpiles of these weapons without any whatsoever exceptions and guarantees of the non-reappearance of such weapons anywhere and ever. That is why the Soviet Union stands for the creation of a reliable and effective verification system that would plug all possible loopholes for circumventing the convention.

The USSR and the other socialist countries are for a comprehensive approach to the problem of disarmament and are vigorously working for the elimination of weapons of mass destruction to be accompanied by substantial cuts in armed forces and conventional armaments, the note says.

Warsaw Pact-NATO Meet on Conventional Arms

LD2006123488 Moscow TASS in English 1212 GMT 20 Jun 88

[Text] Vienna June 20 TASS—A new meeting has been held here today within the framework of the consultations between representatives of the Warsaw and NATO member states to draw up a mandate for the future talks on a cut in the armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. A discussion was continued of practical questions pertaining to the organisation and procedure of these talks.

CEMA Official Explains 'Joint Market' Aims

LD1706163488 Moscow TASS in English 1344 GMT 17 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 17 TASS—"A joint market of the member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) is both a distant perspective and a goal the attainment of which it is essential to strive already now," maintains Yuriy Shamray, one of leading experts of the USSR mission at the CMEA.

The deepening of socialist economic integration, he said in an interview with a TASS correspondent, objectively leads to the formation of a market in which goods, services, workforce, currency, and capital investments could move freely between the countries concerned.

Unlike the "common" market, a joint market does not absorb individual national markets but only unites them, keeping the economic independence of the countries, the expert explained. There are already substantial elements which may become components of a joint market: border trade, direct exchanges of goods through home-trade and material and technical supply bodies of the countries.

A large-scale change-over to wholesale trade in means of production and consumer goods on the domestic markets, the wholesale trade in which partners from CMEA countries would participate, would be the main prerequisite for forming a joint socialist market.

The coordination of national economic mechanisms is essential for movement to a joint market, Yuriy Shamray pointed out.

The leading role in coordinating mechanisms should be played by the fixing of real rate ratios between the currencies of CMEA countries, the introduction of their mutual convertibility, and their wide-scale utilisation in mutual settlements.

CEMA Secretary Sychev Views EEC Cooperation

AU1906143988 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 16 Jun 88 p 6

[Interview with CEMA Secretary Vyacheslav Sychev in Moscow by NOVOSTI commentator Aleksandr Drabkin: "Building the 'All-European Home'"; date not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Drabkin] Vyacheslav Vladimirovich, the "International Symposium CEMA-Finland—15 Years of Cooperation," which was held in Moscow recently, demonstrated the increasing importance of cooperation among countries which belong to different socioeconomic systems. I would like to ask you to elaborate on this matter and tell us about the prospects for contacts between CEMA and the EEC.

[Sychev] Questions about the state of the CEMA-EEC talks are very frequent. I would describe the situation as follows: There have been several useful contacts between the two sides in recent weeks. I think that progress has been achieved in those several directions which have not yet been coordinated. With a considerable portion of optimism one could voice the conviction that there is a justified hope for a successful conclusion of the talks in the near future.

There is also another aspect of this situation. I was in Finland not so long ago, and they asked me there (a question which interests many people, not only the Finns): What effect will the establishment of official relations between CEMA and the EEC have on the development of cooperation between CEMA and other European countries which are not EEC members?

When answering that question, I always stress that the commitments assumed by CEMA and the EEC toward third countries must not be affected in any way. That, however, does not mean that the establishment of relations between CEMA and the ECC will not affect cooperation, for example, between CEMA and Finland. Of course it will affect it.

First—we are profoundly convinced that the establishment of relations between CEMA and the EEC will help to increase the level of trust between states with different socioeconomic systems in an all-European extent, that it will help to create a situation in Europe which will favorably influence Europe-wide cooperation.

Second—there is no doubt that the establishment of such relations will lay the foundation for the development of cooperation between these two organizations in realizing international projects which will be of importance for all of Europe. What I mean is a possible cooperation in spheres such as the protection of environment, power engineering, transportation, scientific-technical cooperation, and the like. It is obvious that no European country can remain beyond the confines of such cooperation. I am convinced that the possible effect of the normalization of relations between CEMA and the EEC on contacts between CEMA and the other European countries (including Finland) can only be positive and could lead to the expansion of cooperation, the CEMA secretary stressed. [passage omitted]

United States & Canada

Karpov Cited on Improved Soviet-U.S. Relations

LD1906174988 Moscow World Service in English 0210 GMT 19 Jun 88

[Text] During the recent fourth Soviet-American summit in Moscow, the foreign ministers of the two countries met about 30 times. All this has brought tangible results. The treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles has been signed and ratified and talks are going on a 50 percent cut in strategic offensive arms and other disarmament problems. What is the reason for stepped-up Soviet-American dialogue? Has the approach to it changed on the part of the two countries? Those questions were put by a Radio Moscow reporter to high-ranking Soviet Foreign Ministry officials and a prominent Soviet expert in the field of arms control, Viktor Karpov:

It seems to me, said Viktor Karpov, that there are many reasons for the improvement of Soviet-American relations, which began with the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and President Reagan in Geneva in 1985. This is connected with present-day arms, which can make a military confrontation between the two major powers of the planet destructive to everyone. Besides, the Soviet and American leaders are aware of their responsibility for the future of not only their own countries but of all of mankind. Has the approach of the United States to all this changed? Yes, it has. At the latest summit in Moscow, President Reagan said that he does not consider the Soviet Union to be an evil empire. And that is not mere words. Behind that statement is the treaty on destroying medium- and shorter-range missiles, which is now being implemented. Concrete moves to reduce strategic offensive arms and bigger economic and cultural contacts. All this means that there has been a definite change in the Reagan administration's approach to the Soviet Union in the past 3 years, and the trend continues. Public opinion polls show that most Americans support the changes. It is also supported by broad political circles in both the Republican and Democratic parties. The only exception perhaps are the extreme right-wing elements in the Republican Party, says Viktor Karpov.

The approaches of the Soviet Union have also become more realistic, as far as cooperation with the United States is concerned. And of course that applies first of all to international security. But those new approaches are also important for humanitarian problems, and a settlement of regional conflicts. The Soviet decision on the withdrawal of its troops from Afghanistan has helped to a big extent to make progress in normalizing Soviet-American contacts. The Soviet Union's stand on world problems has become more flexible and constructive, and that is the result of the processes going on in the country, of restructuring and democratization of Soviet society. All that tells directly on the Soviet foreign policy, including relations with the United States.

Yakubov Views Meese 'Shady' Financial Dealings

LD1706230788 Moscow TASS in English 2248 GMT 17 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 17 TASS—TASS news analyst Dmitriy Yakubov writes:

The name of U.S. Attorney-General Edwin Meese is constantly on the pages of the U.S. press. The attention of the U.S. public has been caught more than once by the information about investigations of Meese's personal financial affairs and his contacts with the General Dynamics which secured profitable orders for the construction of submarines, as well as with Wedtech Company which seeks the Pentagon's contracts. This information leaked into the press. The information about certain material interest of the attorney-general in the outcome of the investigation into the affairs of U.S. telephone companies was published sometime back. Then the information about Meese's role in the construction of a pipeline in Iraq leaked into the press. It should be noted that though all these affairs caught the attention of the public, they have not been concluded.

Early in May, however, the Senate Subcommittee on Oversight of Government Management issued a report which indicated directly that Meese violated law of government ethics by abusing his position of presidential adviser in 1981-1982 to help Wedtech Company secure a Pentagon order worth many million dollars. Chairman of the subcommittee Senator Carl Levin said that a scene of greed, trading in influence and corruption was revealed to its members. The clouds were gathering over the chief of the U.S. Department of Justice. The press issued a report that a special attorney who has been conducting an investigation into Meese's case for nearly a year was shortly to publish a report on the results of the inquiry into Meese's shady affairs.

Eight high officials of the Department of Justice resigned out of protest that this department is headed by the person whose reputation has been tarnished by dubious machinations. The scandal over the attorney general's shady transactions started causing concern among the leadership of the Republican Party as a factor which can have a negative effect on the coming presidential elections. The voices demanding that Meese resign started coming even from the U.S. conservative circles. This opinion has not met with understanding either from Meese or from the White House. President Reagan continues backing an old pal of his and says so openly. What is more, it has become known that staffers of the White House have been officially warned that they risk losing their jobs if they spread information about the attempts of the President's closest associates and friends to persuade him to depose the attorney-general.

The case of the moral make-up of the attorney-general has assumed a new colouring in the recent days. It was announced in Washington that the Department of Justice has been instructed to investigate the case of corruption and swindle in the Pentagon in which a number of former and presently functioning officials of the Department of Defence are implicated. They traded in information and influence to help contractors secure large and profitable Pentagon orders. The President's demand to conduct a thorough investigation has also been announced. The question, however, arises whether the Department of Justice will be able to conduct such an investigation as its head is involved in similar machinations.

Pentagon Contracts Scandal Was 'Open Secret'

LD2006085888 Moscow TASS in English 0815 GMT 20 Jun 88

[Text] New York June 20 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Mostovets:

The U.S. defense agency has been hit by what the CHICAGO TRIBUNE has described as the most resounding scandal in the former's history when it transpired last week that fraud and corruption were rife in dealings between the Pentagon and its contractors.

The paper said 14 major companies filling orders for the military, including McDonnell Douglas, Northrop, United Technologies and Unisys, were suspected of having regularly "brought" and "bribed" their way to inside Pentagon information they would later exploit to win lucrative contracts.

The practice has long been an open secret, but ranking administration officials have done everything to prevent a probe into the Defense Department's scandalous connections with corporations.

Republican Senator Charles Grassley said in CBS Television's Face the Nation show that he had advised Attorney General Edward Meese [name as received] as far back as three years before that Congress knew of underhand scheming and bribery behind deals between the Defense Department and its contractors.

Grassley said Meese had promised to take measures but hadn't turned a finger.

Speaking in the same program, Democratic Congressman John Dingell said that way back in 1985 he had given Caspar Weinberger, the then defense secretary, papers showing his subordinates guilty of fraud, deception of the government, corruption and theft, but Weinberger had ignored the documents.

Both lawmakers, however, sidestepped questions about the involvement of members of Congress in the scandal. A franker public stand on the issue was taken by political writer Nick Kotz who has long studied the lobbyist activities of munitions corporations in Washington.

There was no doubt, said Kotz, that a large part of the legislators represented the interests of corporations, including those closely connected with the Pentagon, on the Capitol Hill and helped them land advantageous contracts in return for donations to congressional campaign funds, free holidays in Jirida and on the Hawaiian Islands and plush jobs with the particular corporations in the future.

The current scandal, Kotz said, was not unexpected since it reflected the moral climate in which the U.S. military-industrial complex operated.

The so-called revolving-door practice assuring Pentagon officials of jobs with corporations doing business with the Defense Department as well as business executives from such firms of positions with the Pentagon, according to the writer, cannot but lead to offenses, corruption and other wrongdoing.

THE BOSTON GLOBE reported that 252 highly-placed Pentagon officials took up jobs with military corporations in fiscal 1987. The figure does not include those who quit the Defense Department last year to launch private lobbying companies to project the interests of arms manufacturers.

VOA Claims on Soviet Terrorism Support Rejected

PM1906171588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jun 88 Second Edition p 5

[V. Shurygin article: "Disinformation Bombshell: Confusing the Issue"]

[Text] ...According to a study conducted by the U.S. Department of State, a sinister growth of international terrorism occurred in 1987. There were 832 recorded acts of terrorism, in which more than 2,600 persons were killed or injured....

This frankly depressing but fairly accurate news was broadcast by the VOA a few days ago. It was followed, however, by a "commentary reflecting the U.S. Administration's viewpoint" which, to put it mildly, proceeded to disinform or, to put it simply, to slander the Government of Afghanistan and our country. How else could one describe the claim by the commentary's authors that supposedly "one-third of all victims" of acts of terrorism were killed and "almost one-half" wounded in bomb explosions in Pakistan "organized by the Communist Afghan regime with Soviet support."

What are they talking about? Indeed, the domestic political situation in Pakistan was tense during the past year. There were almost daily clashes on ethnic and religious grounds. There were more frequent skirmishes between armed detachments of the Afghan opposition and local residents. Several powerful explosions occurred in public places. The extremists' actions are expanding in scope. So much for the facts.

But why did the VOA find it necessary to confuse the issue? Especially today, when the implementation of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan demands from all parties to them, including the United States, honesty, truthfulness, trust, and mutual understanding? It looks as if the VOA commentary is a rather clumsy attempt to divert public attention from Pakistan's violations of the Geneva accords and from the strange stance taken by the United States on this question. By continuing arms deliveries to the armed opposition, inordinately lauding its "feats," and making insulting statements against the Afghan leadership, Washington is in fact encouraging a continuation of the bloodshed in Afghanistan.

It must be remembered, however, that disinformation is ultimately counterproductive. It is evident that this has been realized by the leaders of the USIA, which controls the VOA. In the course of past Soviet-U.S. contacts and talks on information matters, the U.S. side, and primarily USIA Director C. Wick, repeatedly advocated that both countries' mass media should supply truthful and objective assessments of events in our countries and their policy in the world and should abandon the notorious "enemy image." But as we can see, some people in Washington's propaganda kitchen could not resist the great temptation to resort to conventional methods of disinformation.

What a pity! It is a pity that the VOA and the USIA, "reflecting the U.S. Administration's viewpoint," are again sinking to the illicit and dishonest practices and methods of ideological confrontation.

Malikov Criticizes Byrd-Dole Afghanistan Letter

LD1806012488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 17 Jun 88

[Aleksandr Malikov commentary]

[Text] The leaders of the Democrat majority and Republican minority in the Senate of the United States Congress, Robert Byrd and Robert Dole, have sent a letter to Secretary of State George Shultz, calling on him to appoint a roving ambassador on Afghanistan. The purpose of such an appointment, the senators write would be to coordinate and monitor the U.S. policy and program concerning the opposition—the Afghan opposition forces. Here now is a latest news commentary, with Aleksandr Malikov at the microphone:

What exactly do Senators Byrd and Dole mean by the outwardly quite respectable-sounding terminology, "coordinate and monitor" [kontrolirovat]? Possibly there are those in the Senate who are seriously alarmed by the indications that implementation of the Geneva agreements is obviously stalling and that, therefore, the time has come for Washington, too, as the second guarantor, to at last tackle seriously the task of monitoring their implementation. But, alas, closer acquaintance with the letter to Secretary of State Shultz leaves no room for such hopes. Its subject is the resuscitation of an old idea: wrapping interference in Afghan affairs in a cloak of legality. To put it another way, the senators are pressing for guarantees of quite a different kind from those laid down in Geneva: guarantees that unhindered interference in Afghan affairs may continue.

Needless to say, I am far from hurriedly equating the viewpoint of the U.S. senators I've mentioned with the opinion of the entire Congress, or for that matter of the State Department, to whom their letter was actually addressed. Yet it does, nevertheless, give more than sufficient food for thought. In particular, the American press makes no secret of the fact that, since the pull-out of Soviet troops from Afghanistan began, feeling in the United States has become favorable toward a military victory by the opposition groups. And what is most dangerous, perhaps, is that these feelings are manifested in the form of non-stop deliveries of U.S. arms—the scale of which is, to speak bluntly, unprecedented.

According to evidence offered by the U.S. magazine THE NATION, since the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan were signed, new batches of arms valued at $350-450 million have been flown in by U.S. transport aircraft. And the newspaper THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR makes no bones about the high degree of coordination between the commanders of the opposition groups in Afghanistan and the deliveries of arms that are being carried out by the United States and Pakistan. It's this sort of coordination that Senators Byrd and Dole would evidently like to legalize. We know that Washington is still talking of armed support for the Afghan opposition forces. This means in practice that the United States intends to go on demanding that Pakistan, which is seemingly very eager to yield to these demands, continue to pass on U.S. arms to the antigovernment Afghan groups. Because in the conditions created since the Geneva agreements were signed, the Americans simply have no other channel by which to do this. Thus the United States is by no means acting to the benefit of the Afghan-Pakistan settlement. One must say in all conscience that when matters stand thus, it is just not possible to remain a guarantor.

Another factor is this: The letter from Senators Byrd and Dole serves up the idea of close coordination with actions by opponents of the Najibullah government as an important contribution to advancing U.S. interests in Afghanistan. Well, lobbying of this sort has the familiar smell of neoglobalism where the United States places its own—highly dubious—interests above the vital interests and needs of the war-torn Afghan people.

U.S. Senate Law Promotes 'Neoglobalism'

LD1706194188 Moscow TASS in English 1803 GMT 12 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 17 TASS—By TASS commentator Valeriy Vavilov:

The world can breathe more easily now that there is a real prospect of improvement in the Soviet-American relationship and in the overall international climate on the planet as a result of the Moscow summit.

The political dialogue is increasingly becoming an effective means for dealing with complicated international issues, be it arms reduction or regional conflicts.

Obviously, detente's opponents are not too happy about that. Being clearly afraid of losing their positions and along with them the possibility of a runaway arms race, they are out to restore the atmosphere of mistrust and die-hard anti-communism.

One such attempt has been made by Senators Robert Dole and Paul Trible who have sponsored a bill on effective military and economic aid to anti-communist movements of "freedom fighters".

In this way they are going to make the neoglobalist doctrine hatched out in this administration by the late C.I.A. Director William Casey into an American law which will remain in force after the government leaves office.

The doctrine is the theoretical and practical basis of the U.S. approach to regional conflicts, claiming the "legitimacy" of U.S. interference in these conflicts, wherever they occur, if this "meets vital U.S. interests".

The doctrine proclaims Washington's "right" to meddle in the home affairs of sovereign nations and even to topple governments it dislikes, for which any means—political blackmail, economic pressure, military threats and direct armed incursions—may be used.

And if the doctrine of neoglobalism is institutionalized as law, it will effectively seal this "right" of Washington to wage undeclared wars, conduct overt and covert subversive operations and pursue a policy of state-sponsored terrorism under any future administration.

The world has already seen how this doctrine has been translated into reality: the undeclared war in Afghanistan, the invasion of Grenada, support for Nicaraguan contras and other examples of U.S. interference in the domestic affairs of independent countries are well-known.

The example of Afghanistan demonstrates that given good will, it is possible to come to terms on a regional settlement by peaceful political means. The Afghanistan rupture in the chain of regional conflicts opens the way to settling similar conflicts elsewhere—in Central America, southern Africa, Asia and the Middle East.

But the bill suggested by the American senators rejects this way of settling regional conflicts as it preaches a U.S. "right" to interfere and foist its will on other nations entitled to choose their own path of political, social and economic development.

Indian Paper Says U.S. Aided Removal of Junejo

LD1806202888 Moscow TASS in English 2010 GMT 18 Jun 88

[Text] New Delhi June 18 TASS—The newspaper THE TIMES OF INDIA writes today about the reasons behind the removal of Junejo from the post of Pakistan's prime minister. The newspaper notes that on the eve of the dissolution of the Junejo government, which was quite unexpected for all, Commander of the U.S. Central Command George Christ held substantive discussions with Pakistan's President General Ziaul Haq.

According to THE TIMES OF INDIA, the U.S. Administration encouraged General Ziaul Haq to preserve in the country limited democracy for some time. Civilian rule in Islamabad allowed the United States to justify its massive aid to Pakistan which served as the main channel for supplying arms to antigovernment Afghan groups.

The USA and other Western governments, the newspaper notes, were interested in the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. This goal was also largely due to the fact that the civilian government in Pakistan signed the Geneva accords. However, this went some way towards increasing its popularity in the country, which created a threat to General Ziaul Haq and the military close to him. The Pentagon was also angered by the Junejo decision, taken contrary to the will of General Ziaul Haq and his military advisers, to suspend calls by American naval vessels in the port of Karachi. All this decided the fate of the civilian cabinet which was disbanded by the president.

Reagan's Statement on Japanese Claim Scored

LD1706202788 Moscow TASS in English 1930 GMT 17 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 17 TASS—TASS political analyst Askold Biryukov writes:

The Japanese newspaper "ASAHI" writes that U.S. President Ronald Reagan positively assessed Japan's active role in sharing with the USA the burden of efforts in the defence sphere. Singling out this country from among other U.S. allies, he hinted, as it were, that it would not be bad for them either to loosen their purse-strings for military spending, emulating the country of the rising sun which displayed enviable fervour in this case.

Paying back for Japan's good services, the President picked up a theme of the so-called northern territories, which was prompted to him from Tokyo, at a meeting with Western pressmen before the conference of the "big seven" in Toronto. This theme has been repeatedly used for fanning up anti-Sovietism and justifying militarist preparations in Japan. "ASAHI" reports that Reagan said that, in his opinion, "those islands should be restored to Japan" and expressed the administration's intention to "keep on discussing and negotiating on things of that kind".

Frankly speaking, these pronouncements by the President arouse bewilderment. The Soviet people well remember Reagan's statements made during the recent Soviet-American summit in Moscow. For instance, about the Soviet-American brotherhood-in-arms during the Second World War, which, as the President put it, is especially memorable to him, as well as about his desire to be guided by realism and to expand bounds of confidence in future. How can these statements by the President be tallied with his latest pronouncements? About what expansion of bonds of confidence can we speak if the President crosses out with a single pronouncement obligations of the former chief executives of the U.S. Administration, their signatures under such international documents, which determined the present status of "northern" and other territories, as the 1943 Cairo declaration, the 1945 Yalta agreement and the Potsdam declaration? The latter confirming provisions of the previous two, says that Japanese sovereignty will be limited to the islands of Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu and Shikoku.

The President surely remembers the act of unconditional surrender signed aboard the U.S. battleship Missouri where the Japanese Government assumed obligations for itself and its successors to fulfil honestly the conditions of the Potsdam declaration which incorporates the provisions of the Yalta agreement and the Cairo declaration of the allied powers on the return to the Soviet Union of South Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands. Last but not least, it will be remembered that the United States signed in San Francisco the 1951 peace treaty under which Japan gave up all rights, legal grounds and claims for the Kurile Islands and a part of the island of Sakhalin and islands adjoining it. Is it all non-existent for the present head of the U.S. Administration? It is highly improbable that the President forgot all this while remembering the Soviet-American brotherhood-in-arms during the Second World War.

The U.S. President promised the Muscovites and the entire Soviet people to be guided by realism. But his pronouncements clearly show that in this case realism vanished into thin air. To our mind, realism lies in the premise that if agreements are concluded and are even signed by the leaders of states, they should be observed. One cannot advocate expansion of bounds of confidence and at the same time disregard the main provisions of international law.

Reagan Seeks Support for Nicaraguan Contras

LD1906095988 Moscow TASS in English 0933 GMT 19 Jun 88

[Text] Washington June 19 TASS—U.S. President Ronald Reagan has used his weekly radio address from the White House to the nation in order to urge the U.S Congress again to support the Nicaraguan contras. The U.S. chief executive accused the Sandinist government of frustrating the talks with the contras on ultimate ceasefire in the country and repeated his previous claims about a "threat" which Nicaragua allegedly constitutes to democracy in Central America. "This is a problem that's close to home and that demands our strong attention," he said. The UPI agency noted in that connection that this might be a clear warning that the President was going to send to Congress a request for military aid to the contras.

The latest round of the talks between the Nicaraguan Government and the contras proved to be fruitless because of the obstructionist stand of the counter-revolutionaries who put forward clearly unacceptable demands. Nevertheless, the contra chiefs laid the blame for the failure of the talks on the Sandinist government and began seeking the resumption of U.S. aid.

On Friday, Marlin Fitzwater, an official spokesman for the White House recalled that the administration favours aid to the contras, but declined to answer the question whether the White House was going to request funds from the Congress for military aid.

Estonian Academic Views Reagan Remarks on Rights

LD1806014088 Moscow World Service in English 1710 GMT 17 Jun 88

[Text] The Voice of America said recently that President Reagan had noted a certain improvement in the human rights situation in the Soviet Union. At the same time, the President claimed that the Baltic peoples are still subject to persecution and exile. Radio Moscow's reporter (Oleg Vokulovskiy) has asked a member of the Estonian Academy of Sciences, (Jan Rebane), what he thinks of President Reagan's statement.

I was amazed by what the American President said. I don't know where he found such information. (Jan Rebane) recalled that a number of Estonian dissidents have been allowed to leave the Soviet Union and use that permission without any interference. He also said that in Tallinn not so very long ago there were rallies marking an anniversary of mass deportations from Estonia in 1941 during Stalin's rule. There were reports of those rallies in the press.

If somebody takes part in the Green movement in Estonia, or the organization calling itself the People's Front, does he or she face any risk of persecution by the authorities? (Jan Rebane) said both organizations operate openly and freely. There has been no administrative or other interference in their activity. In some cases their views differ dramatically from the official attitude, but this only means that alternative opinions do have the right to exist. Incidentally, lively debates continue in the press. Various opinions are being published. The leadership of Estonia's Communist Party, including the Central Committee, has come under criticism, and I believe that this is a manifestation of genuine openness and democracy, said (Jan Rebane), a member of the Estonian Academy of Sciences.

Glukhov Notes Positive Trend in Rights Talks

LD1706203388 Moscow TASS in English 1832 GMT 17 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 17 TASS—Speaking in a TASS interview, Aleksey Glukhov, deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry's Directorate for Humanitarian and Cultural Ties, said that a positive trend is becoming increasinly felt in the Soviet-American dialogue on humanitarian issues. "What is even more important", he went on, "this dialogue is beginning to bear fruit and becoming more honest and frank".

Aleksey Glukhov said that a number of concrete questions causing the USSR's concern were raised before the American representatives when humanitarian issues and human rights were discussed at the Moscow summit. Among these questions were the U.S. policy of discrimination against the country's indigenous population, the American Indians, and the practice of meting out the death sentence to juvenile criminals. The situation concerning the extradition of Nazi criminals who are hiding from justice in the United States was studied concretely.

"Not all the replies given by the U.S. delegation satisfied us", Aleksey Glukhov said. "I must say with regret that this time again we did not hear anything encouraging about changes in the American practice of denying entry visas to Soviet trade union functionaries".

During the discussion the American side mostly made the emphasis on individual cases connected with the departure of Soviet citizens from the country. Detailed explanations were given to it, Aleksey Glukhov said, we explained the reasons why the applications of some citizens were temporarily turned down and we also stated the situation concerning specific cases.

"It is important that the possibilities were studied of setting up a permanent mechanism to discuss humanitarian issues on the level of parliaments with the extensive participation of scientists, experts and representatives of the public", Aleksey Glukhov went on. "We hope that such a mechanism will go into operation already this year. It has been agreed that contacts on the level of lawyers will be continued in the coming months. A delegation of physicians, including psychiatrists, will come to the Soviet Union in September at the invitation of the USSR Ministry of Public Health and will acquaint itself with the system of public health in this country".

NBC Interviews Shultz on SDI, Nicaragua

LD2006082688 Moscow TASS in English 0722 GMT 20 Jun 88

[Text] Washington TASS June 20—The Reagan administration will continue pressing ahead for the implementation of the "Strategic Defense Initiative", this follows from the remarks by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz in an NBC Television program.

The newsmen taking part in the program requested him to comment on reports that the administration had allegedly given up plans to deploy a large-scale ABM system in outer space. The U.S. secretary of state has rejected these claims. "The problem with SDI isn't that we have scaled it back. The Congress has scaled back the funding," he said.

The U.S. secretary of state was also asked a number of questions on Washington's policy vis-a-vis Nicaragua and the possibility that the administration would address a request to Congress on granting military aid to the Nicaraguan contras. "There's been a lot of discussion about how to maintain support for freedom fighters in Nicaragua (as they in Washington describe the Nicaraguan counter-revolutionaries, editor's note), humanitarian support and other kinds of support. But there hasn't been any decision made about that."

Shultz Discusses State of U.S.-Soviet Relations

LD1706131988 Moscow TASS in English 1200 GMT 17 Jun 88

[Text] Washington June 17 TASS—TASS correspondent Oleg Polyakovskiy reports:

On Thursday U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz made remarks dealing with Soviet-U.S. relations at the international conference of the U.S. Information Agency (USIA).

Mr Shultz said the talks between the United States and the Soviet Union were held on a four-part agenda: arms control, bilateral relations, regional issues, and the subject of human rights.

"We and the Soviets can now point together to important, substantive things—deeds, not just words—in each of these four areas".

"It's been an effort to move forward on a four-part agenda that is a broad one that has yielded results and we've done it with consistency and I think that it has come about in a manner that it will continue. There's going to be continuity with this", the U.S. secretary of state emphasised.

Mr. Gorbachev and his colleagues, Mr Shultz said, have a new—a different kind of analysis of what's going on in their own society and economy. And so we have something fresh to interact with. That has also made a major difference. "In a way it's easy to manage a very, very strained relationship. It's much more difficult to manage change than it is to manage something that's a constant".

"The U.S.-Soviet relationship is as important as it is unique," the U.S. secretary of state went on to say. "It is important because we each bear an immense burden of leadership in the world. It is unique because the nuclear era demands that we engage each other, despite our profound differences. So we have to engage somehow".

"Our relationship will continue to be a difficult one to manage," Mr Shultz stated. "We have contrasting philosophies, political systems and national interests. Our basic values and systems and interests will persist, even as the necessity to work together increases".

"We have to recognize there are differences, and that's part of what we have in mind as we look at this relationship. We must be realistic. Avoiding the extremes of either hostility or euphoria, through the ups and downs of our relations".

"We must look to the future without neglecting the lessons of the past. Too often we face the past and back into the future. I am not against looking at the past: You can learn a lot from it and you have to do that. But every once in a while it may be a good idea to just glance over your shoulder and see what's out there because, at least as I see it, in five to ten years, our world will be vastly different from the one we know today and from the post-war world of the past 40 years which has conditioned so much of our thinking and we have to look at that and try to understand it".

"Openness to ideas, information and contacts is the key to future success. The conceptual breakthrough embodied in the INF Treaty's provisions for verification, an on-site inspection, are but one example of the powerful pull of the already existing openness in this key area of U.S.-Soviet relations", Mr Shultz said.

"If detente is the world to describe what was going on in the 1970's then that isn't the right word to describe what's going on today because what's going to day is very different". "It's hard to capture it in one word—or even two", the U.S. secretary of state remarked in conclusion of his speech and suggested the words "careful engagement".

Moscow-Washington 'Hot Line' Described

LD2006113288 Moscow TASS in English 1112 GMT 20 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 20 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Cherkizov:

It takes the operators of the Kremlin-White House direct communication line less than a minute to transmit a message the size of a type-written page. It is exactly 25 years today since the signing in 1963 of a memorandum of agreement between the USSR and the USA on establishing that direct communication line. It is necessary to exclude any ambiguity in the assessment of each other's actions and intentions, to clarify one's stand and reach a decision appropriate for both sides.

Although that office is in the centre of Moscow, the time there is GMT (Greenwich Mean Time) and the notion of space is also different there: Signals from the overseas come in a matter of seconds. Yet, contrary to our expectations, we did not see the "red telephone" there. Video displays, personal computers faximile communication equipment ensure today the operation of the line.

We could not help asking whether the line was used according to its direct designation. The answer was in the affirmative.

Moscow and Washington establish communication every hour. The texts are transmitted by our operators at odd number hours, by American ones—at even number hours. The shift including apart from operators also engineers and interpreters lasts twelve hours.

In September 1971, a new Soviet-American agreement was signed in Washington on measures to perfect the direct communication line. Work has been started on the use of artificial earth satellites. Soviet and American specialists created two additional routes—one of which was through the Soviet satellite "Molniya", and the second—through the international satellite "Intelsai". The use of faximile equipment has become a new stage in perfecting the "hot line".

The space communication station is a two hours' drive from Moscow, it is near the nuclear research institute in Dubna The huge cup of the aereal effectively receives the signals sent from Fort Dietrich town, Pennsylvania. A similar American station is situated there. The passage of the signal is ensured by geostationary satellites "hanging" over the Atlantic in the area of the equator.

This line is described differently as a "direct channel," the "red line", "the hot line". But the meaning is one and the same—this is extraordinary communication: the line linking those on whom mankind's destiny ultimately depends.

It is the summer of 1988. It is summer time in Moscow and it is summer time in Washington. But it is the spring of hope. The two great powers have, perhaps, never been so close to one another after the meeting on the Elbe in the victorious spring of 1945. A history-making step has been made towards the total elimination of nuclear weapons on earth. The world is looking forward to a new step.

The diplomatic thought enriched with the formula of new political thinking is working intensively, missiles are disassembled and nuclear stocks are being reduced.

The "hot line" rejoices at the warming up of relations.

China

Maslyukov Views Economic Ties With China

PM1706152588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
17 Jun 88 Morning Edition p 5

["IZVESTIYA Interview" with Yu.D. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, by correspondent Yu. Savenkov in Beijing: "USSR-China: New Opportunities for Cooperation"; date not given—first four paragraphs are IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] It has already been reported in the press that the third session of the Soviet-Chinese Commission for Economic, Trade, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation, which discussed questions on further deepening and improving bilateral ties, was held in Beijing in early June. Intergovernmental agreements were signed on the principles of the setting up and activity of Soviet-Chinese enterprises and on establishing and developing trade and economic ties between Soviet organizations at various levels and companies from China's administrative units.

The Soviet delegation was headed by Yu.D. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the Soviet part of the commission. The Chinese delegation was headed by Tian Jiyun, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo, vice premier of the PRC State Council, and chairman of the Chinese part of the commission.

Yu.D. Maslyukov was received by Li Peng, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo Standing Committee and premier of the PRC State Council. The sides confirmed their mutual desire to continue making efforts to further expand business ties between the two countries. Yu.D. Maslyukov also met Yao Yilin, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo Standing Committee, vice premier of the State Council, and chairman of the PRC State Planning Commission. They discussed questions on further developing business cooperation between the USSR and PRC central planning departments.

The outcome of the commission's session offers additional opportunities for the further development of Soviet-Chinese relations. The implementation of its results will contribute toward economic building, enhancement of living standards for both countries' peoples, and creation of a favorable atmosphere for the deepening of mutual understanding and trust between our countries.

[Savenkov] What does the accumulated experience indicate?

[Maslyukov] The commission has been functioning for just over 3 years. The first session was held here in Beijing in February 1986, a meeting was held in Moscow in May of last year, and now we meet again in China's capital, Beijing. How can one assess what has been achieved? Let me first mention the good timing of the creation of this intergovernmental organ. Proof of this is offered by the stable growth of commodity exchanges between the two countries both in value and in physical terms, and by the practical introduction of new forms of cooperation during these years.

Trade still remains the main form of Soviet-Chinese economic ties. Despite the recent difficulties, including the fall of world prices for raw materials, both sides have managed to set this year's volume of trade at a level that is 30 percent higher than envisaged by the protocol on commodity turnover and payments in 1987. Border trade has been growing at a particularly fast pace in the last few years. It is beginning to represent a larger proportion of commodity turnover. We and the Chinese comrades are unanimous on this: Taking the great length of the Soviet-Chinese border into account, border ties can become an additional channel of cooperation in the long term.

Following a long break between Beijing and Moscow, the first exchange of trade and industry exhibitions took place in 1986. Similar exhibitions will be held in the two capitals in 1990. With due credit to the expansion of commodity exchange operations, I would like to mention the recent resumption of economic and technical cooperation. The first contracts have been signed and are being fulfilled. The main avenues are in the power industry, metallurgy, the raw materials sectors, and transportation. One of the current session's important features is the greater attention given to cooperation in capital construction, construction of new projects, and reconstruction of projects built with our assistance in the past.

There are fresh breezes blowing also in scientific and technical cooperation. We have moved on, from familiarization and inspection trips by scientists and specialists to elements of long-term collaboration. Direct scientific and technical ties are being established between regions in Siberia and the USSR's Far East and the PRC border provinces. The festivals of USSR science and technology in China in 1988 and of PRC science and technology in the USSR in 1989, to be held for the first time in the history of relations between the two countries, will be an important event.

A working group on cooperation between the USSR Gosplan and the PRC State Planning Commission has been created. It works along two main avenues: The first is the exchange of experience in the implementation of economic reform and the reconstruction of the activity of the planning departments themselves. The second is the discussion and coordination of long-term trade and economic cooperation.

Cooperation in the sphere of education has great potential opportunities. It started at VUZ level and has gradually spread to secondary specialized and vocational and technical education. We are exchanging lecturers, we have reached agreement on assistance to authors' collectives compiling dictionaries and textbooks, and a bilateral seminar on exchange of experience in the restructuring of higher education in the USSR and the PRC is due to be held in 1989. A reciprocal increase in the exchange of students and specialists is planned. Incidentally, the commission gave instructions to speed up the solution of the question of reciprocal recognition of Soviet and Chinese diplomas of education and scientific degrees.

The organizational structure of the commission itself is improving. A permanent subcommission on scientific and technical cooperation and permanent working groups on transport and on cooperation in the spheres of power industry and education have been set up. We have only just constituted a permanent commission on local and border trade and economic cooperation. Relations are deepening and expanding; new forms are emerging.

[Savenkov] What are the typical features of the current session? What are its main results? Is it possible to speak of qualitative advance in Soviet-Chinese relations in the spheres of the economy, trade, science, and technology?

[Maslyukov] First of all, I would mention the further deepening of mutual understanding, the high degree of goodwill and frankness between partners who are sincerely interested in expanding all-around cooperation. Speaking of immediate tasks, the accords reached at the session envisage stepping up the work on fulfillment of agreements, a quest for new spheres for ties, and so on. This time we covered a considerably broader range of problems than previously. This is the normal course of events: As cooperation deepens, the range of problems expands. It is obvious that we have to examine more and more questions linked with accords reached in the past. Specifically, the commission gave instructions to hold talks on agreeing to new "General Conditions for Deliveries of Commodities from the PRC to the USSR and From the USSR to the PRC," an intergovernmental agreement on double taxation, and conditions for cooperation in building hotels and roads in the USSR's Far East. This is normal work.

But our session went further. We signed two intergovernmental agreements—on establishing and developing trade and economic ties between USSR union republics, ministries, departments, associations, and enterprises and PRC provinces, autonomous regions, cities and enterprises, and also on the principles of the setting up and activity of Soviet-Chinese enterprises. This offers an opportunity to involve new participants in cooperation, and it will assist in bringing the two countries' national economic mechanisms closer together and in strengthening friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and China. In conditions of restructuring the economy and the foreign economic mechanism, now under way in both countries, when the independence of enterprises has been significantly enhanced, the new documents could create a sound legal basis for the fullest possible utilization of the USSR's and the PRC's national economic potentials. Let us be realistic. All this is new. We will inevitably come across organizational difficulties at the beginning, obviously involving an exceptionally cautious approach toward the choice of partners. But all these complexities will be temporary.

In my view, relations between the USSR and the PRC in the spheres our commission deals with are at a stage where life persistently demands of us that we move further than the traditional forms. It may be too early to speak of significant qualitative advances, but there is some movement in this direction. Look no further than the assembly of Soviet railroad cars for delivery to the PRC and of Chinese-made automatic couplers and brake cars. Here is another example: Using money earned from the sales of their products in China, Soviet motor vehicle plants purchase here motor vehicle components which they need. Such cooperation is exceptionally promising.

The idea of the long-term nature of our relations can be constantly heard at the commission's sessions. This time we submitted a draft long-term program for the development of trade, economic, scientific, and technical cooperation between the USSR and the PRC through the year 2000. It contains a broad range of proposals in promising fields and concerning volumes of cooperation at intergovernmental level and between sectors and individual economic units. We proposed to concentrate efforts on cooperation in spheres of fundamental interest to our countries—for example, the fuel and energy complex for China, the agro-industrial complex for us, and so on. In my view, the prerequisites exist for raising scientific and technical cooperation to a qualitatively new organizational level. In the age of scientific and technical progress, we should not restrict ourselves to immediate short-term interests. What we need is strategy—elaboration and implementation of major projects on key problems of science and technology: the nuclear power industry, new construction materials, electrical engineering and computers, wave guides [svetovod], application of biological methods in health care, medicine, and agriculture. In order to boost the efficiency of cooperation, we need more active exchanges of scientific and technical achievements on a commercial basis. The Chinese side showed keen interest in the proposed document and in the actual program approach toward the planning of our mutual relations.

[Savenkov] All of us here are sensing a movement of Soviet-Chinese relations in various spheres. Your arrival here and the work done by the commission offer further proof of this movement. But to what extent is the level of Soviet-Chinese relations in line with what is desirable? Let us look into the future. How do you assess the prospects of these relations?

[Maslyukov] Cooperation between our countries is a commandment of the time. The socialist system has common features, but it does not rule out diversities. The strength of socialism lies indeed in the wealth of national and international experience. Despite the fact that we have different ways of progress in implementing economic reform and different approaches and methods for solutions, we share a common goal: the completion and unconditional fulfillment of the tasks of economic reform. Otherwise, we will not advance. Of course, today's level of cooperation is inadequate. These are just initial successes, initial elements of trust. There has been a good response to the results of the meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and U.S. President R. Reagan. The Chinese comrades give due credit to the fact that the first brick has been laid in the foundations of a world without nuclear weapons—the ratification of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. There is also a positive assessment of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan. All this creates a sound base for further cooperation and development of trust between our countries. The economic, trade, scientific, and technical cooperation will lay reliable foundations for the further development of all-around relations. We are on the right path.

[Savenkov] People in China say: "The first impression is the most lasting." What is your impression of China and the Chinese?

[Maslyukov] The main impression is one of movement along the path of economic reform. We sensed this in Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, and Shenzhen (this, incidentally, is a new development in China's life, basically in line with the country's export needs). This movement is steady and irreversible: People here can see no other way. I saw for myself yet again the Chinese people's friendly and sincere attitude toward us Soviet people. I sensed that people in China realize: The friendship between the Soviet and Chinese peoples is not a whim of fashion but an urgent need.

Trade Volume With China 'Greatly Increased'

OW2006012088 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 16 Jun 88

[Text] According to a Chinese statistics organization report: China's import and export trade totaled U.S.$35.5 billion from January to May this year. Exports outstripped imports, making it possible for China to reduce its foreign trade deficit. China's major trade partner is still Hong Kong. Next comes Japan, the EC members, and the United States.

Soviet-Chinese trade has greatly increased in recent years. The trade volume was R1.4 billion in 1987, and will increase to R1.8 billion in 1988.

Nikolayev Comments on Developing PRC Relations

OW1806123288 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 17 Jun 88

[Nikolayev commentary]

[Text] The 19th All-Union Conference of CPSU delegates will open on 28 June in Moscow. The program of the conference outlined by the CPSU Central Committee indicates that Soviet foreign policy gives priority consideration to developing relations with socialist countries. In this connection, our station commentator Nikolayev has the following to say:

It should be stressed, first of all, that the Communist Party and the nation of the Soviet Union have always attached particular importance to relations with socialist countries. This is an orientation receiving priority consideration in our country's foreign policy. Regrettably, because of various circumstances that have come up from time to time, interrelations among socialist countries in the world have not always been good but have had ups and downs. Now, however, it can be said that strengthening all-around cooperation among them is the dominant trend. Socialism in the world today, on the whole, is at a renewing and reforming stage. At least, we may say with great assurance that this is the case in the Soviet Union and China. Every country's process of perfecting its socialism would have a positive influence on the effectiveness of cooperation among socialist countries and would be conducive to eliminating the undesirable phenomena in their relations left over from the past. It is precisely from this perspective that I view Soviet-Chinese relations.

As far as Soviet-Chinese relations are concerned, the difficulties encountered in the past are known to all. Even today, there are some pending problems, but these problems are not permanent and insurmountable. We should look ahead, and the job in the future is to develop and strengthen all-around cooperation between these two big socialist countries. Activities of their politicians and diplomats, objective factors such as the same socioeconomic system, their bordering on each other, and the historically established fact that they can supplement each other economically—all these are conducive to the full exploitation of the great potentials of cooperation and good-neighborliness between the Soviet Union and China. Their present exchange of experience in socialist construction is of particular importance. Quite obviously, they can learn something from each other. At a recent meeting with Maslyukov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, in Beijing, Chinese Premier Li Peng proposed further exchange of experience in reforming economic and political systems. Aside from the material benefits to be created, this will help increase mutual understanding and trust between the two countries.

In conclusion, I would like to quote a remark made by Soviet leader Gorbachev. He said: Looking forward to the future, we may sau that Soviet-Chinese cooperation has a great potential. We say it is great because the cooperation is in the interest of both countries and because socialism and peace, which our two peoples value the most, are inseparable. This remark, which was made on the platform of the 27th CPSU Congress 2 years ago, still retains all its significance today. It manifests a priority principle of the Soviet foreign policy—the principle of developing all-around cooperation with socialist countries.

Radio, Film, TV Official Interviewed

OW1806131988 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Excerpts] Dear listeners, on 14 June we broadcast in our current events and music program "Good Day, China" an excerpt of an interview with Nie Dajiang, vice minister of Chinese Ministry of Radio, Film, and Television. Here is the interview in full:

[Begin recording] [Reporter] Comrade Nie Dajiang, could you tell us the purposes of your current USSR trip?

[Nie Dajiang] [Passage omitted] You may call this a return visit for the one made last year to China by Comrade Vladimir Ivanovich Popov, deputy chairman of the Soviet State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting. While in China last year, Comrade Popov signed a 1987-1988 radio broadcasting and television exchange and cooperation protocol. This trip is a result of that protocol. The year after Comrade Popov's China visit has seen considerable progress in the cooperation between our two countries' radio broadcasting and television stations. [passage omitted] China's television crew may come to the Baltic area in the near future. Besides, program exchange between radio and television stations in our two countries has also made some remarkable progress during the same period. [passage omitted] This time, for one thing, we hope to further the progress made in the last year and explore new areas for our cooperation. Second, as China and the Soviet Union are relatively large countries and have fairly large radio broadcasting and television facilities, we would like to discuss with you ways to manage these facilities. Last but not least, as our two countries are undergoing reform, [passage omitted] we would like to share views and experiences with our Soviet counterpart, and hope to learn from each other too, with regard to what radio broadcasting and television stations can do to foster the domestic economic and political restructuring process. [passage omitted] [end recording]

The delegation's Moscow visit ran through 16 June. They held talks with Aleksandr Nikiforovich Aksenov, chairman of the Soviet State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, and Vladimir Ivanovich Popov. (Audinko), chief editor in charge of Moscow Radio Station's broadcasting to China, also took part in the talks. [passage omitted]

'Satisfied' With Visit

OW1806141688 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 17 Jun 88

[Text] Listeners, we have reported in our broadcast that a Chinese radio and television delegation headed by Nie Dajiang, vice minister of radio, film, and television, is presently visiting our country. On this visit, the Chinese delegation held talks with leaders of the Soviet State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting. The Chinese delegation will visit other cities in the Soviet Union. On the eve of its departure for a visit to Leningrad, our station reporter (Barchedov) interviewed Nie Dajiang, head of the Chinese delegation. Because of the very tight schedule of the delegation, the interview took place at the railway station on the eve of the train's departure. Regrettably, only one question was asked: What have you discussed on this visit, and are you satisfied with the results of the talks?

[Begin Nie Dajiang recording] We asked comrades of the Soviet State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting to brief us on the reform of television and radio broadcasting work in the Soviet Union and the stimulating effects of this reform on the political and economic reforms in the country. The briefing has given us a deep and good impression. There is really something that we can use as reference.

Meanwhile, we have discussed new steps to be taken to further our cooperation. The discussion was based on the protocol for cooperation formulated when Comrade Popov visited our country last year, but some new contents have been added. By and large, the two sides have close opinions for signing a new protocal. The new protocol will likely be signed between the two sides when we come back from Tashkent. So our general impression is that this visit is worthwhile. We are satisfied with our meeting with comrades of the Soviet State Committee of Television and Radio Broadcasting. I believe that the Soviet comrades are also satisfied. That is to say, both sides are satisfied. [laughter]

We are going to visit Leningrad, Kiev, and Tashkent. We believe what we see and hear in those places will enhance our understanding of today's Soviet Union, which is undergoing changes. We believe our visit, the first, will be fruitful. [end recording]

Listeners, in future broadcasts, we will continue to let you know the results achieved by the Chinese radio and television delegation on this visit.

Control Ministry Institutes Antigraft Measures

LD2006092788 Moscow TASS in English 0917 GMT 20 Jun 88

[Text] Beijing June 20 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Tomilin:

The PRC's Ministry of Control [name as received] has completed drafting provisions providing for a toughening of administrative measures vis-a-vis the members of Chinese institutions abroad involved in bribe-taking and corruption. The draft rules are to be endorsed by the PRC State Council.

The provisions, a spokesman for the ministry said, constitute a new step in combatting the spreading of "adverse and unhealthy phenomena" in the process of reforms and broadening ties with the rest of the world. A barrier will be put up to corruption, bribe-taking, passing over confidential information of economic character, which is conducive to enormous economic losses and are a blow to the party's reputation.

The spokesman for the ministry excluded the possibility of launching a "new national campaign of combatting corruption, bribe-taking and other unhealthy tendencies" which, as he said, "was predicted by some foreign observers". These problems cannot be resolved by means of political campaigns or mass movements, as was often done in the fifties and sixties, he said.

As the newspaper CHINA DAILY said today, in the course of a check on 300,000 contracts with foreign firms, more than a thousand facts have been exposed of various violations and abuses.

The Ministry of Control closed in 1959 was restored last year.

Khabarovsk Official on Joint Ventures With PRC

OW1906104988 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 16 Jun 88

[Excerpts] The Soviet Government last January adopted a decision to set up joint venture enterprises with foreign countries so that we will be able to further develop economic, trade, scientific, and technological cooperation with foreign countries on a stable and mutually beneficial basis. The Khabarovsk border district trade and public food administrative bureau has concluded an agreement with the International Economic and Technological Cooperation and Development Corporation of Harbin, China, to set up joint venture enterprises. (Kefton), our station reporter in Khabarovsk, interviewed (Kuchinkov), manager of the Khabarovsk city trust of restaurants and coffee shops, who took part in the negotiations.

Manager (Kuchinkov) said: Comrade (Abayev), head of the district [word indistinct] public food administrative bureau, and Comrade (Zhao Shuping), chairman of the board of directors of the Harbin International Economic and Technological Cooperation and Development Corporation, signed a contract on setting up a Harbin restaurant in Khabarovsk and a Khabarovsk restaurant in Harbin. The two restaurants will partly open in October and go into full operation in January 1989. The joint enterprises will operate on a mutually beneficial basis and profits will be divided according to each side's shares of investment. The restaurants will be staffed by Chinese and Soviet personnel. [passage omitted]

Answering a question on the future of such joint enterprises, (Kuchinkov) said: We expect the joint enterprises now being set up to be very profitable, and we believe that there is a good future for such enterprises. We hope that more such enterprises will be set up in other cities and districts in the border areas. I would also like to point out that it is not only for the economic benefit of border trade but also out of a desire to promote friendship between the two neighboring nations that the border district [word indistinct] public food administration bureau took the initiative to set up the Soviet-Chinese joint enterprises.

RENMIN RIBAO Marks 40-Year Jubilee

PM2006130988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jun 88 Second Edition p 5

[G. Arslanov and G. Krivosheyev report: "40 Years of RENMIN RIBAO"]

[Text] The main gates of the complex where RENMIN RIBAO, the CPC Central Committee organ, is located were decked with flags and red lights. Behind the gates was a large red banner on which golden characters stated: "40 Years Since the Founding of RENMIN RIBAO."

We had come to the editorial office for the first time in many years on the eve of the jubilee in order to meet and talk with Fan Rongkang, first deputy chief editor of the newspaper, who had kindly agreed to receive us.

RENMIN RIBAO was not the CPC's first press organ, Fan Rongkang said. It was preceded in various periods of the revolutionary struggle by HONGQI RIBAO, XINRONGHUA BAO, XINHUA RIBAO, and JIEFANG RIBAO. They all played an important role in mobilizing the people's masses for the liberation struggle. The Chinese Communists have always remembered V.I. Lenin's directive that a "newspaper is not only a collective propaganda and agitation worker, but also a collective organizer."

The first edition of RENMIN RIBAO appeared on 15 June 1948 in the Pingshanxian District of Hebei Province, when the Chinese revolution was moving purposefully toward victory. After the country's liberation in 1949 the editorial offices moved to Beijing. At that time, RENMIN RIBAO consisted of just two pages. We saw these first editions of the newspaper at an exhibition opened in the conference hall to mark the anniversary of the PRC's main newspaper. It displays numerous documents and photographs detailing the 40-year history of the CPC Central Committee organ. These include documents that attest to the long-standing ties between Chinese and Soviet journalists.

The newspaper's history is indissolubly linked with the history of the Chinese revolution, the socialist building of the Republic, and victories, defeats, successes, and downfalls. As Fan Rongkang graphically put it, "various winds and various clouds have blown" over the newspaper. From its founding to the present day, RENMIN RIBAO has been the proponent of the party line and its main mouthpiece. Whereas it was intended to mobilize the masses to struggle during the period of revolutionary battles, today its main aim, as defined by the party, is to work in the interests of building a modern and modernized China.

Our newspaper, as an organ of the ruling party, strives to explain CPC policy to the masses, Fan Rongkang noted. But at the same time, RENMIN RIBAO is obliged to reflect the opinion of a broad range of its readers and the entire people.

Unfortunately, this has not always been the case. The newspaper made mistakes. Obviously the proclamation of the "Great Leap Forward" policy, the "people's communes," and later the "Great Cultural Revolution" were subjective mistakes by our party. At the same time, RENMIN RIBAO also propagandized these campaigns, and this means it also made mistakes. During the "Cultural Revolution" years, our readers unfortunately used to call the newspaper not "dangbao," which means "party newspaper" in Chinese, but "bangbao" or "gang's newspaper." After the removal of the "Gang of Four" headed by Mao Zedong's widow Jiang Jing, the newspaper had to publish articles in support of the "two absolutes" thesis propounded by Hua Guofeng, the then chairman of the CPC Central Committee.

This thesis turned Mao Zedong's statements and directives into an absolute. But even then we realized the flimsiness of this course, and we were supported by Hu Yaobang—who at the time had already been officially rehabilitated—and by Deng Xiaoping, who had still not been rehabilitated after the "Cultural Revolution." The 3d CPC Central Committee Plenum, 11th Convocation, asserted a realistic approach in all work, including the sphere of party propaganda. We have drawn the necessary lessons from the mistakes of the past. Now our main principle is to propagandize party decisions and reflect the country's real life. Practice is the criterion of truth, Fan Rongkang said, that is why the CPC central organ "maintains close ties with the people's masses and heeds their voice in order to ensure that the thoughts and actions of party and people are united."

The newspaper's circulation is more than 4 million. It has correspondent centers in virtually all the country's provinces and large cities. A foreign edition is also printed every day aimed at Chinese living abroad.

An important form of propagandizing the reform taking place in China at present, Fan Rongkang noted, is not the publication of resolution materials and directives, but dialogues with readers and the entire people, interviews with prominent party figures, and meetings between them and the masses. The people welcome this method of propaganda.

Yesterday RENMIN RIBAO correspondents returned from Moscow, where they had been covering the Soviet-U.S. summit. This was the first such trip to our country by the newspaper's journalists for many years. "We will attentively follow the work of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and cover its progress," Fan Rongkang said. "People in China are very interested in it."

Nikolayev Comments on Sino-Japanese Relations

OW2006040288 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Nikolayev commentary]

[Text] The latest issue of BANYUETAN carries a talk by Sun Pinghua, president of the China-Japan Friendship Association, on the present situation in Sino-Japanese relations. Nikolayev, a commentator of this station, has the following to say on the topic:

Although President Sun Pinghua describes Sino-Japanese relations as generally good, the overall tone of his talk shows that China is far from completely satisfied with Japan's China policy. Sun Pinghua frankly points out that serious obstacles exist on the road of development of Sino-Japanese relations. The first obstacle is that some politicians in Japan stubbornly refuse to admit the fact of Japan's aggression against China in the 1930's and 1940's. There is much evidence in this connection. For instance, former Japanese cabinet minister Okuno not long ago defended the policy of aggression of militarist Japan and whitewashed Japanese militarists' crimes of slaughtering Chinese people. Okuno was not the first Japanese official to do so. The Tokyo government is fully aware of China's views on the crimes committed by Japanese warlords. Tokyo also knows that China has always lodged protests against the two-China policy pursued by some countries, particularly the United States.

In Sino-Japanese relations, the Taiwan issue is very acute. Sun Pinghua says that it is the second obstacle in the way of development of Sino-Japanese relations, and this is not accidental. He says: Some people in Japan regard Taiwan as an independent country, and this is in violation of the joint statement on establishing diplomatic relations between Japan and China. For instance, a Japanese court went so far as to decide that a Chinese college students' dormitory in Kyoto belonged to the Taiwan authorities, and the case is not yet settled.

According to Sun Pinghua, the third obstacle to the development of Sino-Japanese relations is the difference between the social systems of the two countries, but China does not think that it should become a factor obstructing China-Japan cooperation. However, some political groups in Japan take a different position and assume a skeptical attitude toward the development of Japanese-Chinese relations, just because China is under the leadership of the Communist Party. For instance, they are unwilling to abandon the discriminative policy toward China regarding supply of modern equipment and advanced technology to China. The Tokyo government often says that it is striving to develop friendly relations with China, and China also aspires to do so. However, there are many indications that problems still exist. For this reason, it is entirely understandable that China urges Japan to take specific actions and strive to solve those problems.

Northeast Asia

Andreyev Scores Takeshita Nuclear Arms Stand

OW1706113988 Moscow in Japanese to Japan
1000 GMT 16 Jun 88

[Andreyev commentary]

[Excerpts] The recent U.S.-Soviet summit in Moscow succeeded in narrowing the gap between the two countries on a series of issues involving nuclear disarmament, such as restricting and banning nuclear tests. [passage omitted]

Calling for nuclear disarmament at the UN special session, Japanese Prime Minister Takeshita proposed the setting up of a global inspection system for nuclear tests. He suggested holding an international conference in Tokyo on the inspection issue. On the other hand, Takeshita, in the same speech, also expressed views supporting nuclear deterrence. From the doctrine of nuclear deterrence, it is easy to shift to the need to improve nuclear weapons. And from there, a logical connection can be made to recognizing the need for nuclear tests.

Nagasaki City Mayor Motoshima criticized Takeshita's stand. Motoshima and Hiroshima City Mayor Araki spoke at the UN General Assembly special session on disarmament. They appealed for a complete ban on nuclear arms testing. They proposed drawing up the necessary agreements as part of the first step in the disarmament process.

Furthermore, the many participants in the second peace wave antiwar movement also firmly opposed nuclear tests. The peace wave started in Japan, and representatives were sent to various countries. Participants returned to Japan on 12 June.

The Soviet Union highly appreciates and supports all proposals by any country, nongovernmental group, or individual for banning nuclear tests. We believe that such proposals will have a strong impact on bringing about concrete progress in the right direction.

Kalinin on Japanese Official's ASEAN Tour

OW1806185688 Moscow in Japanese to Japan
1000 GMT 16 Jun 88

[Kalinin commentary]

[Text] This will be the first time for a Japanese Defense Agency [DA] director general to visit ASEAN nations since World War II. Kawara will visit Indonesia and Singapore and hold talks with defense officials and the leadership of those countries. According to official announcements, the Afghan issue will be discussed, and Soviet policy toward Asia will be analyzed during the talks. However, from all indications, the real purpose of the visit is not as simple as that.

It is a well-known fact that from their historical experiences, the ASEAN nations are very wary of Japan's turning into a major military power. Obviously, Kawara will exert all efforts to allay and eliminate such fears. However, this task will never be easy. Japan's military spending has increased at a tremendous rate.

Last March, Prime Minister Takeshita stated that Japan's military power should match its economic power. To justify such policy, Kawara will surely use the notorious [akumeitakai] Soviet threat as an excuse. That is a complete fabrication and a totally unfounded pretext. However, the Japanese military has no other excuses to justify it. Whenever the attention of public opinion needs to be diverted from Japan's military activities, it always has to bring out the same fabrication: threats from the north.

For instance, this was the case during the recent visit to Japan by U.S. Defense Secretary Carlucci. Judging from all these, it will surely be with such an attitude that Kawara will conduct his talks in Indonesia and Singapore. Thus, it would not be coincidental if Soviet policy toward Asia and the Pacific were discussed in these talks as one of the central topics. At the same time, the Japanese Defense Agency director general's forthcoming tour of ASEAN nations has another important mission. Last month, YOMIURI SHIMBUN reported that Japan and the ASEAN nations are deepening relations in the political, economic, and cultural areas—excepting only the military area. Taking the newspaper report into consideration, it is easy to imagine that the Japanese Government will try to achieve [words indistinct].

The United States wants this, too. From long ago, the United States has been working out plans to let ASEAN acquire a military alliance-like character. The newspaper

THE WASHINGTON POST, for instance, obviously expressing regret, wrote: There is something which the EC has but ASEAN has not. That is NATO.

The fact that ASEAN's role is heightening in the international arena—and, therefore, in U.S. strategies—is cited as the reason for this attitude of the United States. At the same time, the following can also be considered as the reasons:

Lately Washington has been feeling very ill at ease about the antimilitary tendency which has begun emerging among the ASEAN nations. ASEAN, for instance, plans to turn Southeast Asia into a nuclear-free zone. There is the possibility of U.S. military bases in the Philippines being removed. Therefore, the United States is (?applying) pressure on ASEAN to keep this organization in the orbit of its military policy.

In this respect, the United States is pinning big hopes on Japan, and this is not unfounded. Prime Minister Takeshita, for example, attended an ASEAN general meeting in Manila last December and spoke, as a matter of fact, for U.S. military and political interests. This time, Defense Agency Director General Kawara is to tour the ASEAN nations. This is a first step toward [word indistinct] a direct military confrontation with the ASEAN nations.

The contents to be incorporated into these contacts can be easily imagined when the close link in military policies between Japan and the United States is taken into consideration. As a matter of fact, Japan will be assigned [words indistinct] of an Asian envoy of the Pentagon, U.S. Department of Defense.

Ryzhkov Receives Mitsubishi Chairman in Kremlin

PM1606143188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jun 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meeting in Kremlin"]

[Text] On 15 June in the Kremlin, N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, met with Y. Mimura, chairman of the board of the Mitsubishi corporation, who is heading a representative delegation of leaders of this company.

The talk which took place touched on questions of Soviet-Japanese relations and discussed the prospects for the development of trade and economic ties between the Soviet Union and Japan.

N.I. Ryzhkov noted that a relatively high level of relations is maintained between the two countries in the economic, scientific and technical, and cultural fields. There has been a certain animation in political contacts recently. At the same time, the potential of Soviet-Japanese relations has still been far from fully activated. This is particularly noticeable against the background of the activation now to be observed in the Soviet Union's ties with many Western countries, including the United States.

The profound transformations taking place in all spheres of life in the Soviet Union and the process of restructuring are organically interlinked with the Soviet state's course in international affairs and with its constructive approaches toward solving the topical tasks facing the world community.

The USSR and Japan, the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers said, are major modern powers. In addition, history has seen to it that we are neighbors, and there is no escape from that; we must exist, and not simply coexist but also cooperate. This would accord not only with the interests of the peoples of our two countries but also with the interests of peace and security in the vast Asian and Pacific region and beyond.

Y. Mimura's attention was drawn to the possibility of the participation of Japanese firms, on a mutually advantageous basis, in the implementation of major production projects in the USSR, the creation of joint enterprises, and the quest for other progressive forms of collaboration in various spheres.

Y. Mimura assessed highly the importance of restructuring, which also opens up new prospects for the development of economic ties between the Soviet Union and Japan. Noting that Japanese circles present a great potential for cooperation with the Soviet Union, he said that the Mitsubishi corporation will continue to make efforts to expand Soviet-Japanese economic ties, in particular by participating in the creation of a major oil and gas complex in West Siberia and other projects.

The hope was expressed that the forthcoming visit to the USSR this fall by a Japanese economic delegation, which will include not only leaders of leading firms but also representatives of government institutions, will serve as a new impetus to the development of Soviet-Japanese business cooperation.

The talk, which took place in an atmosphere of mutual understanding, was attended by V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations; V.L. Malkevich, chairman of he presidium of the USSR Chamber of Trade and Industry; and M. Tagai [name as published], vice president of the Mitsubishi corporation.

DPRK Protests U.S.-ROK Security Plans

PM1706113988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jun 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "DPRK's Position"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 15 Jun—The Korean people and the servicemen of the Korean People's Army denounce the provocative decisions taken at the routine U.S.-South

Korean consultations on security questions held in Seoul recently, says a statement from a DPRK Ministry of the People's Armed Forces spokesman issued today. The document protests resolutely against the plans of Washington and Seoul for the further buildup of U.S. military presence in South Korea on the pretext of the alleged danger of "aggression against the South" and the need to avert "terrorism" during the forthcoming summer Olympics.

The spokesman for the Ministry of the People's Armed Forces assessed as slander the U.S. side's claim that the DPRK has placed missiles close to the military demarcation line making it possible to strike Seoul. "At the places named by the Americans, there are not missiles but equipment and machinery which are being used by servicemen taking part in constructing a high-speed highway between Pyongyang and Kaesong," the document notes.

In this connection, the statement draws attention to the fact that the United States has deployed, 35 km south of the military demarcation line, Lance missiles which can carry nuclear, chemical, and neutron warheads and have stored over 1,000 units of various nuclear weapons on South Korean territory.

The DPRK Government and the Korean people will continue to make persistent efforts for the easing of tension between North and South, the peaceful reunification of Korea, and the joint organization of the Olympics, the statement says.

South Korean Authorities Block Panmunjom Rally

PM2006124188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Jun 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Razubayev report: "Simply Not Allowed To Go..."]

[Text] Pyongyang, 11 Jun—Panmunjom... That used to be the name of a railway station between Kaesong and Seoul—a station now idle and overgrown with grass.

Now it is the name of the nearby spot where for over 35 years the Korean Military Armistice Commission has been meeting. A meeting of representatives of young students from the North and the South was planned for 10 June in the pavilion where the commission members usually hold their sessions. It was agreed beforehand that this meeting would discuss joint steps to help establish trust and mutual understanding between young people in both parts of the country and ultimately to promote its earliest possible peaceful unification.

This meeting was initiated by students from Seoul University. "We will go to Panmunjom. Let us meet there!" was the invitation which they sent on 28 March to their counterparts at Pyongyang's Kim Il-song University. Among other questions, they proposed discussing the possibility of the exchange of student delegations, the staging of joint sports events, and visits by members of families left after the war on different sides of the demilitarized zone dividing the Korean peninsula from east to west.

The Seoul students' initiative was supported by students from 78 higher education establishments in South Korea. It also received an enthusiastic response from young people in the DPRK. A preparatory committee was set up there to assist the meeting between students from the two parts of Korea and to decide the composition of the delegation that went to Panmunjom on 10 June.

Twenty minutes before the appointed time, the young envoys of People's Korea went carrying bouquets of flowers to the pavilion where the delegation from the South was due to arrive. It was 1500 hours—the time proposed by the South Korean students for the meeting. But no one appeared from the other side of the so-called "joint security zone." Only U.S. and South Korean guards with their carefully measured stride could be seen on the other side of the concrete strip dividing the "zone."

An hour passed, then another. The South Korean students' envoys did not show up. As it happened, they simply were not allowed to go to Panmunjom for the meeting with representatives of the DPRK'S young people.

A few days before the planned meeting, the South Korean students' actions acquired a really mass character. Many thousands of university and college students took part in the wave of student rallies and demonstrations which swept across the whole of South Korea. They were expressing their discontent at the fact that the country's fate is entirely dependent on Washington's will, protesting against U.S. support for the No Tae-u administration, and demanding withdrawal of the U.S. troops from South Korea, removal of U.S. nuclear missile bases, and democratization of life in the country. Their appeal to the public to comprehensively promote the reunification of North and South was louder than ever in the past few days.

The Seoul authorities took hurried measures against the students who had risen up in struggle. In an attempt to prevent the student delegation leaving for Panmunjom the police yesterday cordoned off all railway and bus stations. A 60,000-strong army of policemen was enlisted in the action, as foreign observers report from Seoul. On that day the guardians of law and order took 660 young men and women into police custody. In skirmishes with the police, 54 people taking part in the student demonstrations were injured.

According to reports from Seoul, South Korea's students are ready to continue the struggle. The students have announced that they will try again to go to Panmunjom on 8 August to discuss questions of the country's unification with their counterparts from the DPRK. They also intend to collect 10 million signatures for an appeal calling for the joint staging of the summer Olympics in South Korea and the DPRK.

Mongolia's Dugersuren Stops Over in Moscow

PM2006124988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jun 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "On the Way Home"]

[Text] Mongolian Foreign Minister M. Dugersuren, who headed the Mongolian delegation at the third UN General Assembly special session on disarmament, stopped over in Moscow on 12-13 June on his way home from New York.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Commentary Views Solution to Cambodian Problem

BK1706040188 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1330 GMT 16 Jun 88

[Vladimir Korolev commentary]

[Text] The statement issued in Phnom Penh by the PRK Defense Ministry says that the headquarters of the Vietnamese volunteer forces in Cambodia and a number of units will be withdrawn from the country in June. This pullout is in accordance with a decision by the two countries' governments concerning the repatriation of 50,000 Vietnamese volunteers soldiers this year. All Vietnamese combatants will be withdrawn by 1990. Our commentator Vladimir Korolov writes:

Vietnamese volunteer combatants will be pulled out sooner if the situation around Cambodia is settled politically. There are sufficient grounds for this. In Southeast Asia, the meeting between head of the Cambodian Government Comrade Hun Sen and Norodom Sihanouk, who represents an opposing Cambodian group, has been considered as a positive change in settling the problem. In fact, there is no other way than to hold talks among all Cambodian parties aimed at reconciling the nation. One of the most important factors in the Phnom Penh government's policy is the withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteer units from Cambodia. It should be recalled that Vietnamese volunteer combatants are in Cambodia at the Cambodian Government's request to oppose outside interference.

The new initiative of Phnom Penh and Hanoi on pulling out 50 percent of Vietnamese volunteer combatants this year has created favorable conditions for expanding political negotiations. The Soviet Union considers this initiative as a major constructive contribution to normalizing the situation in Southeast Asia.

Necessity of Peace

BK1906072988 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1330 GMT 18 Jun 88

[Text] International public opinion is now focused on the Cambodian issue, which lately has been marked by clear views toward a solution. Here are the views of our observer Comrade (Kozolov), who recently visited Cambodia.

Even I, a foreigner, can see the absolute necessity to build a long-lasting peace in Cambodia, which has suffered greatly. This suffering can be seen in the arduous daily life of the Cambodian people in dilapidated school buildings, industrial enterprises, and desolate rice fields which await assistance from the farmers' hands. In talking with Cambodian people, we saw the fatigue of the past nearly 20 years expressed on their faces. How great is their desire to live peacefully! This feeling is expressed by the majority of Cambodian people, regardless of the political groups to which they belong. In my opinion, it is this desire that is helping to ameliorate the acute situation of Cambodia's internal conflict and that is a force advancing the idea of national reconciliation proposed by the PRK Government.

It is not a coincidence that last year nearly 5,000 members of various opposing Cambodian parties abandoned armed struggle. I had the opportunity to talk with some of them. The reason for their decision is easy to understand: They were tired of constantly moving in the forest from place to place. They wanted to live a normal life with their families, and they no longer believed the propaganda that Vietnam wants to occupy Cambodia forever. In this sense, many of them clearly realized the justification of the policy of the SRV, which last year withdrew 20,000 Vietnamese volunteer troops from Cambodia. In December last year, I myself witnessed the warmth expressed by people in Phnom Penh in sending off units of Vietnamese volunteer troops back home. In my view, the number of awakened individuals will continue to increase because by the end of June, 40,000 more Vietnamese combatants will be withdrawn. And, by the end of this year, up to 50,000 will be pulled out.

The majority of Cambodians now worry about a different problem: Will Pol Pot return? Will the armed organization of the Khmer Rouge, the group that brought such tragedy to the Cambodian people, be dismantled? It is inevitable that people want to know the stand of ASEAN countries, which have provided support to the Pol Pot group. There is enough evidence, however, to believe that a realistic policy will win the day. The proof is the recent major political observation by Chinese officials; namely, that the PRC no longer insists that Pol Pot be returned to power in Cambodia.

Due to the Vietnamese and Cambodian efforts, the constructive stand of some Asian countries on the Cambodian issue, and the stand of fraternal socialist countries, a new situation has been created allowing people to hope that in the end Cambodia will get the peace for which it has been waiting for so long.

Philippine Independence Anniversary Noted

OW1706114188 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 11 Jun 88

[Ivanov commentary]

[Excerpts] Tomorrow—12 June—is the anniversary of the independence of the Philippines. On that day in 1898, the Philippine people concluded their long, hard struggle against the Spanish colonialists by kicking out the enslavers and declaring the birth of the Philippine Republic. Station observer Ivanov writes as follows:

That was not the end of the Philippine people's struggle for freedom, independence, and social progress. The U.S. imperialists took control of the Philippines following the 1898-1904 war of aggression. During the years of World War II, militarist Japan occupied the Philippines. The Philippines was declared an independent republic in 1946. However, the misfortune of this island nation and its people still did not end. The United States imposed enslaving economic and military treaties on the Philippines and built large military bases on Philippine soil. [passage omitted]

The lease of U.S. bases will expire in 1991. As Philippine-U.S. talks on the future of U.S. bases approach, the Philippine public greatly has increased activities agianst the U.S. military presence. For example, an organization for winning Philippine sovereignty composed of more than 100 groups demanded this spring that the government halt military cooperation with the United States. The organization issued a statement in early April saying that U.S. military bases on Philippine soil are incompatible with Philippine sovereignty and represent a threat to the Philippine people. Manglapus, then secretary of foreign affairs, said that nuclear weapons on U.S. military bases in the Philippines are there to serve the U.S. global strategic interests; they have nothing in common with the national interests of the Philippines. This was the first time a member of the Philippine Government officially admitted the presence of nuclear weapons at the Subic and Clark bases. This evoked considerable repercussions because it violates the non-nuclear principle of the Philippine Constitution. On 6 June, the Philippine Senate adopted an antinunuclear arms bill, which provides a ban on manufacture, entry, and storage of nuclear arms in the Philippines. It also prohibits ships and aircraft carrying nuclear weapons from entering Philippine ports and airports, or flying over Philippine territory. The bill will be submitted to the Senate for examination and approval. If adopted by the Senate, it will be submitted to President Aquino for approval.

This bill has irked officials of the U.S. Pentagon. They naturally conclude that this bill will eventually lead to the closure of the military bases. By the way, it should be pointed out that a Philippine Congress special committee began studying in mid-May a draft plan for utilizing the lands currently occupied by the U.S. bases for the interest of the national economy. To hold down anti-Americanism and preserve the military bases, the United States has intensified its efforts to intimidate the Philippines and other Asia-Pacific nations with the so-called Soviet threat. However, fewer and fewer people are buying these lies. Then Secretary of Foreign Affairs Manglapus and official representatives of other nations in that region have repeatedly reiterated that they don't perceive the Soviet Union posing any threat to them. People of Asia-Pacific nations have heard about the many Soviet proposals for reducing and abolishing nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union actively supports the efforts of many nations in building nuclear-free zones, as well as peace and cooperation zones. This fact has been favorably received in that region. For example, the Soviet Union is being praised for signing a protocol of the Rarotonga Treaty, which declars the South Pacific nuclear free.

On the occasion of the anniversary of Philippine independence, the Soviet people, and all other real friends of the Philippine people, are expressing their sincere support for the Philippine people in their efforts to remove foreign military presence from their soil and make the nation nuclear free.

Black River Project Problems Reported

PM1706110188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jun 88 Second Edition p 4

[Report by special correspondents B. Averchenko and M. Domogatskikh: "On the Banks of the Black River"]

[Excerpts] Hoa Binh-Hanoi—It was late fall 1979. [passage omitted]

At the installation site of the first unit we spent a long time watching the harmonious, precise, and friendly way in which Soviet and Vietnamese specialists were working. Brief orders in Vietnamese and Russian, a brief gesture to a crane driver, and the enormous components of the future electrical giant were settled in their allotted place. And you could imagine what kind of components they were from the draft tube of the first unit. Initially put together at the assembly base and then enlarged underground, this "component" could house a three-story apartment block with a television aerial on the roof.

The energy from Hoa Binh is extremely necessary for the national economy, which is living through a complex period: The capacities of enterprises are being only half used, electricity has not yet reached the villages, and indeed the cities are experiencing an acute shortage of electricity. Even in Hanoi there are perhaps no fewer kerosene lamps in the city dwellers' houses than there are electric lamps.

The construction site party committee told us about the Soviet specialists' high degree of responsibility. Last year, the comrades said, an enormous volume of work was performed at key sites—the dam, the spillway, and the water intake and in the engine and transformer rooms. The collective has strengthened organizationally, and forms of joint work by Soviet and Vietnamese construction workers and party and public organizations have been intensified. All that is so. But how many unresolved tasks and difficulties still exist! The pace of work for the commissioning year is obviously inadequate and a lag is to be observed on a number of sectors. The main reasons are the shortage of skilled labor and the inefficient use of manpower and material resources, construction equipment, and motor transport. Soviet specialists working in trusts and administrations must become the organizers and work superintendents of restructuring and boost the creative and labor potential of the international collective without allowing ardor to be dampened for a single day.

Questions of stoppages, the low work coefficient of the powerful equipment, and the overexpenditure of construction materials were raised. Ways of economic effectiveness must constantly be sought—that is the common opinion.

The construction site is in need of stable deliveries from the Soviet Union of fittings and equipment necessary to commission the first unit, of heightened attention from the ministries involved, and of the elimination of the chronic delay in deliveries. It is also in need of daily assistance from the Vietnamese party and economic organs and in need of their attention toward the needs of the hydraulic complex, including the daily life of its builders.

...In the fall of 1979 the international Soviet-Vietnamese collective started the great business of installing the power engineering giant. There were many difficulties and obstacles on its path. Many are in the past, but new ones are appearing which are keeping up the tension in the collective as it approaches the finish. Nonetheless the hour can be seen increasingly clearly when the energy from the Hoa Binh hydraulic complex will set in motion the machine tools at the plants and factories, the irrigation system pumps, and the cutters in the coal mines and will turn on the light in the homes of the inhabitants of cities and remote settlements. It will be a light born of the fraternity and friendship of our two peoples.

Near East & South Asia

'International Panorama' on Afghan Situation

LD1906212688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 19 Jun 88

[From the "International Panorama" program, presented by Stanislav Kondrashov; M. Leshchinskiy video report]

[Text] [Kondrashov] Hello, comrades! This week, on 15 June, it was exactly a month since our troops began to leave Afghanistan. According to the Geneva agreements, the withdrawal will take 9 months. In the first 3, that is, before 15 August, we have pledged to withdraw half of the troops. The withdrawal is proceeding according to the schedule drawn up by the Soviet Command, and even now not a single Soviet soldier remains in the region of the Afghan-Pakistani border. How do things stand as regards the security of the withdrawal? There have been no attacks on the columns. Here are the words of Lieutenant General Gromov, the commander of Soviet forces in Afghanistan: There were only attempts to fire on our posts and units covering the route to the east of Ghazni and the south of Baraki; there are wounded at the posts, but there are no losses at all in the columns being withdrawn.

[Begin Leshchinskiy recording] It's already the second month, and our main place of work in Afghanistan is the country's roads. We have covered several hundred kilometers along these roads on armored vehicles together with our soldiers returning home. Their fighting road would, happily and invariably, end at the Soviet town of Termez. But we would leave the border on the Amu-Darya again and again, back for the umpteenth time to go north from subtropical Jalalabad, from the cool mountain tops of Gardeyz, or from the sands of Ghazni. And again, we were surprised at the endurance and skill of the driver-mechanics, who stayed at the wheel for hour after long and exhausting hour. The tension descended on our hearts with a chill when passing through the so-called regions of special attention, where the noise of the engines were drowned by an artillery canonade or the crash of rocket launchers. And again, the hours flew past during the short night stops on the red-hot armor, which had no time to cool down from the heat of the day.

It is just at this time, among the endless conversations about the future and about their meetings at home, that the question would crop up from time to time among the soldiers—but how are things out there at the moment, at our garrison? Aren't the evil spirits creeping in? Yes, the question as to how the situation in Afghanistan will turn out after the withdrawal of the Soviet troops is, perhaps, the main one. And not only in the country itself, but also far beyond its frontiers. And after the Soviet military grouping in the east of the country had been fully withdrawn to the homeland last week, when out there, along the Afghan-Pakistani border, there remained not a single one of our soldiers, we decided to visit these areas. Of course, we were primarily drawn to the military cantonment, which we had so often had occasion to visit in the past. It was completely empty. The Afghan military unit to which the cantonment had been transferred hadn't celebrated its housewarming yet, and for this reason it seemed like a house without owners, but not a house abandoned, but prepared for meeting its guests. And it still retained the warmth of solicitous and skilful soldiers' hands—the tents, the canteen, and the very land itself, which had previously been a desert, but over the last 8 years even trees have grown up. [video shows troops on APC's driving along dusty road, people lining the road with banners and waving; one of the vehicles sports a red banner proclaiming victory in socialist competition for reconnaissance work; brief shot of a sentry post in the mountains; shots of trucks traveling at night, soldiers sleeping, others eating and drinking; shots of the cantonment, radar dishes nearby]

This cantonment is located near the ancient Afghan town of Gardeyz. Perhaps viewers of "International Panorama" remember this name from our winter reportages on the combat operation to lift the blockade of the road from Gardeyz to Khowst. Troops were concentrated here at that time, and it was from here that they went on to the offensive. Since that time things have become relatively quiet in the town. It is true, representatives of the local state security service told us that after the Soviet airborne formation had left, activity by the opposition forces had been noted in the town. There were attempts to hold antigovernment meetings, and so-called petitions for pardon are being distributed, whose bearers the extremists are promising to spare. Armed clashes between the opposing groups occur on the approaches to the town. In Paktia Province the rule of a governor general has been introduced. He has concentrated in his hands all military and civil power. He is Major General Barakzay. The governor-general invited us to his residence when the elders of the province, the most respected people, had gathered there.

And in fact it wasn't an interview that we got, but his appeal, both to these people and to Soviet viewers. And it has to be said that this fact in itself speaks volumes. At the current crucial, if not troubled time, not every Afghan figure will agree like this, publicly, to be filmed for Soviet television. This could cost you your life. But the governor-general began his story with gratitude to the Soviet troops. The silence of the elders is regarded here as approval of what has been said. It would be nice if Pakistan, too, rigorously carried out its commitments, Barakzay continued, but for the moment we see many violations on their side. The border is close to us, and perhaps we will have to fight again, although we are hoping for a peaceful outcome. Agreements have already been attained with several of the groups, and we are holding talks with some of the others. All in all, the situation is getting better, if it weren't for Pakistan and the arms which are coming in from there, the general repeated. And in conclusion he cited a very alarming figure: On the territory of the province there are currently in action 217 Western military advisors; this is many more than before. Clearly, they are preparing something. Well, alarm is no stranger here. You can feel it even in the administrative circles of Kabul, even in the Afghan army, in whose ranks desertion is still far from being a rarity.

This was another thing that surprised us: The confidence of these people who have remained alone with the irreconcilable extremists, their accurate assessment of the situation and of the opposing forces. You can believe this. After all, many people in Gardeyz speak like this. Here is just one of our meetings on the streets of the town. Perhaps you, too, remember this man. He took part in those winter reportages of ours. A trader, a millionaire, Nasrullah, whose sons and brother have for many years now been fighting on the side of the opposition, while the merchant himself has all these years been voluntarily conducting a peace-making mission, passing various proposals to the other side, organizing meetings and talks. At that time he used to bring replies from the other side in which the main condition was the departure of the Soviet guests—this is how they referred to our soldiers. And look, we have seen them off home, says Nasrullah, but the war goes on. The point is that the people need peace, but those whom Pakistan supports need power. It is precisely for this reason that the accords, which were also signed in Geneva by Pakistan, are being violated. And yet, Nasrullah doesn't lose hope of seeing his sons under the roof of their father's home, and bequeathing to them his peaceful work—trade. [video shows street scenes in the town; interview with governor-general, elders present; Afghan soldiers on duty; the trader thronged by on-lookers]

I remember, how in leaving their cantonment, the troops of Colonel (Yevnevich's) airborne guards formation said they would remember this land as their second home. Well, on the human level this is quite understandable. Here they have become servicemen, they have realized the value of life and death, they have spilt blood, and they have lost many of their friends. This is all behind them now, it's all a memory. They have had the good fortune to cross the frontier between war and peace in the reverse direction. Now the Afghans themselves have to take this step. [end recording]

Kornilov on Pakistani Motives for Violations

LD1906174188 Moscow TASS in English 1718 GMT 19 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 19 TASS—TASS political news analyst Yuriy Kornilov writes:

It costs Afghan extremists very much to attempt to make armed attacks against the legitimate government. As has just been announced in Kabul, the oppositionists lost more than 500 men killed and more than 700 wounded over the past month. The number of cases of firing on Afghan towns and populated areas over the period has doubled.

Of course, opposition groups which are stepping up combat operations against government troops could not have acted so openly and brazenly, were it not for aid and support on the part of Pakistan. And such support is being rendered to them: It is reported that camps and bases, where terrorists are trained, still function on Pakistani territory. Caravans with arms still travel across Pakistan, and bomb trucks filled with explosives are driven into Afghanistan from there while the Pakistani military intelligence service is inciting extremists to launch a frontal attack on Kabul. All these acts constitute a direct and flagrant violation by Islamabad of the Geneva agreements the pivot of which is ending any interference in Afghan affairs from the outside. About 30 notes of the Afghan Ministry of Foreign Affairs about numerous violations of the 'Geneva package' have already been handed over to the U.N observer group in Kabul. What can explain why the Pakistani authorities so stubbornly stick to their old dangerous policy?

An answer to this question has been repeatedly given by many foreign mass media, by Indian and Italian ones, in particular, which on the strength of facts and figures pointed out that Pakistan, which was declared by the foes of an Afghanistan settlement to be a "frontline state", receives huge military and economic "aid" from the West, and that the country's ruling circles are afraid that in the event of a genuine settlement of the "Afghan problem" the flow of the aid would begin to peter out.

THE NEW YORK TIMES newspaper gave the following answer today to the same question. It writes that President Ziaul Haq is increasingly worried that once the war ends, he will no longer be able to count on the United States as an ally. As long as Soviet military units remain in Afghanistan, "Washington needs Pakistan. As soon as the Soviets go back home, it might be more openly critical about human rights violations here".

Quite an interesting pronouncement, indeed. One of the leading American newspapers virtually admits that Islamabad is prepared to continue to trample upon the Geneva agreements for fear of falling out of favour with the patron across the ocean.

At the same time, THE NEW YORK TIMES states as something taken for granted that Washington advocates of 'democracy' have a 'double standard' which they are guided by. Today the situation in Pakistan, where the internal political situation has been strained, little reminds one of democracy: Even meetings and assemblies are banned in the country. But the U.S. human rights campaigners shut their eyes to that. But what may happen tomorrow as soon as the 'Afghan fire' is put out and the role of Pakistan as the United States' military and strategic staging area in Asia will diminish to a certain extent?

Anyway, THE NEW YORK TIMES has frankly dotted several i's. It is characteristic that the article to this effect appeared at a time when certain circles in the United States itself encourage Islamabad everymore openly to further violations of the 'Geneva package' and are even planning to send a special emissary to Pakistan and are suggesting that he be given the rank of a roving ambassador and be entrusted the functions of monitoring the actions of the resistance.

The initiators of such moves obviously forget one thing: There can be no situation when part of the pledges made by the Soviet and Afghan sides in Geneva is being accurately fulfilled while the other part of the pledges concerning an end to interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan is being ignored. Matters may not, and will not go in such way!

Afghan Protests to UN Observer Group Reported

'29th' Note Submitted

LD1806172988 Moscow TASS in English 1717 GMT 18 Jun 88

[Text] Kabul June 18 TASS—The Foreign Affairs Ministry of Afghanistan today handed another, 29th, note to the office of U.N. monitors in Kabul. BAKHTAR News Agency reports that Afghanistan expressed protest over numerous violations of the Geneva accords by the Pakistani side. The document also contains an urgent request to hold a thorough investigation into the facts of violations and to inform about its results the Afghan Government and the representative of the U.N. secretary-general on settling the situation around Afghanistan.

'30th Note' of Protest

LD1906193288 Moscow TASS in English 1905 GMT 19 Jun 88

[Text] Kabul June 19 TASS—The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan has sent the 30th note to the U.N. observer group in Kabul in protest at the Pakistani side's violations of the provisions of the Geneva agreements concerning voluntary return of Afghan refugees, the BAKHTAR News Agency reported.

The document contains an urgent request to consider the mentioned facts and to report results to the Afghan Government and the U.N. secretary-general.

Afghan Armed Forces Reportedly 'in Control'

LD1906101188 Moscow TASS in English 0842 GMT 19 Jun 88

[Text] Kabul June 19 TASS—The Afghan Armed Forces are capable after the return home of the Soviet troops of defending on their own the country's integrity and sovereignty, says the announcement by the Geneval Staff of the Army of the Republic of Afghanistan. The pullout of Soviet servicemen, the announcement said, has been used as a pretext for stepping up anti-government propaganda by the enemies of peace and security, who claim that the Afghan Army is unable to repell the attacks of oppositioners without the assistance of the Soviet troops.

Yet the facts are proof to the contrary. In the course of a month after the start of withdrawal, the opposition armed units, which stepped up their terrorist actions against the posts and garrisons of the government troops, have suffered heavy losses. Over that time, 524 extremists were killed, 710 badly wounded and 35 taken prisoner in fighting against the Afghan Army units. Considerable quantities of weapons, including rocket projectile launchers, mortars, recoilless guns, grenade launchers and large quantities of ammunition and firearms were captured in fighting. Most powerful strikes were dealt against the attacking opposition groups in Nangarhar, Jowzjan, Kapisa and Nimruz Provinces.

Now in addition to the 13 provinces, from where the Soviet troops had returned home even earlier, they also pulled out of Konarha, Nangarhar, Ghazni, Paktia and Panjsher District in Parvan Province.

Despite the clear violation of the Geneva accords on the part of Pakistan, which assists the opposition detachments in crossing the border into Afghanistan themselves and in supplying arms, the Afghan Armed Forces are in control of the situation in the above-said areas.

The statement by the General Staff contains an appeal to the armed anti-Government groups in the country. It stresses that the duty of every Afghan patriot is to make a real contribution to putting an end to war and restoring peace. The people would never forgive those who will carry on fighting, which is conducive not only to the losses among the sides involved in the conflict, but also to the numerous casualties among the civilian population.

Najibullah News Conference at UN Reported

PM1706155588 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 25, 18-24 Jun 88 (Signed to Press 16 Jun 88) p 5

[Unattributed report on Afghan President Najibullah news conference at UN Headquarters: "President Najibullah: 'We Are for a Coalition Government'"]

[Text] Afghan President Najibullah held a news conference at UN headquarters in New York during which he answered journalists' questions.

Question: In your speech at the UN General Assembly special session on disarmament you said that Pakistan is seriously violating the Geneva agreements. Could this affect the withdrawal of Soviet forces?

Answer: As a result of UN mediation and on the basis of assurances given by UN Secretary General J. Perez de Cuellar and his personal representative D. Cordovez, the entire potential of the United Nations will be brought into play to ensure implementation of the Geneva agreements.

We have always stated that we will honestly and consistently fulfill the Geneva agreements. As for the withdrawal of Soviet forces, we will continue to adhere to the set schedule.

Question: Why is the Soviet Union delaying pulling out from Qandahar?

Answer: According to the Geneva agreements, the essence of the matter is the schedule for the withdrawal of Soviet troops and the timeframe, not the geography of the withdrawal.

Question: You said in your statement that one-fourth of the Soviet forces has been withdrawn, which means approximately 20,000. This figure appears to be at odds with that given by the United Nations—10,000.

Answer: The day I left Kabul for New York the figure in fact exceeded 34,000 men, which is more than one-fourth of the total number of Soviet troops in Afghanistan.

Question: How do you rate the chances of your Government's survival after the completion of the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan?

Answer: If interference from abroad, in particular from Pakistani territory, ceases completely, in accordance with the Geneva agreements, I want to assure you that the Armed Forces of the Republic of Afghanistan are capable of defending the country's sovereignty and independence.

Question: Many people believe that the only way to achieve national reconciliation and avoid bloodshed in your country is for you to quit. Do you see your resignation as the first step on the path to national reconciliation?

Answer: The president of the Republic of Afghanistan was elected by the Loya Jirgah, the representatives of the Afghan people, on the basis of their wishes, taking into account the traditions and characteristics of the country. And my fate will depend on the will and intentions of the Afghan people, which we respect, of course.

Question: You said you will form a coalition government. The "Alliance of Seven" has already rejected your proposal. If they do not participate in the coalition government, do you think it will be a success?

Answer: In connection with the policy of national reconciliation and the formation of a coalition government, I want to say that the position of the various opposition groups, including the "Alliance of Seven," is not final. We would like to set up the most representative coalition government, including opposition forces operating both inside and outside the country, not only with the "Alliance of Three," but with the "Alliance of Four," not only with the participation of representatives of emigres in the Europe and the United States, but also with the supporters of Zahir Shah and him personally, with the participation of armed opposition forces inside the country and with the participation of representatives of religious circles and tribal chiefs. This kind of coalition really could be set up.

Reportage on New Afghan 'Coalition Government'

Najibullah Approves Cabinet

LD1906153088 Moscow TASS in English 1520 GMT 19 Jun 88

[Text] Kabul June 19 TASS—President of the Republic of Afghanistan Najibullah approved the composition of newly formed coalition government of Hasan Sharq which got vote of confidence from Parliament after six days of debates. During the debates 150 deputies took the floor and many of them sharply criticised the previous government for not being able to do away with corruption, misuse of national property, bribes and injustice in different social and economic fields.

A presidential decree has been issued approving the 24 members of cabinet which is comprised of 3 deputies, 21 ministers and five ministers without portfolio, among them 14 non-party members.

Muhammad Hasan Sharq, new prime minister of Afghanistan, in his speech following the vote, stressed that the new government is seeking ways for solving overriding problems, that is to put an end to the fratricidal war. The Geneva accords created conditions for return home of Afghan refugees and "we hope, Pakistani authorities will display common sense in order to observe these agreements", Sharq emphasized.

In conclusion he thanked parliamentarians for the trust expressed in his Government and assured them that his cabinet will do its utmost for the implementation of national reconciliation policy.

New Premier on Reconciliation

LD1706154988 Moscow TASS In English 1502 GMT 17 Jun 88

[Text] Kabul June 17 TASS—By TASS correspondent Oleg Kuzmin:

The newly-formed Afghan government led by Muhammad Hasan Sharq has won a parliamentary vote of confidence after being unanimously supported by the Wolasi Jirgah, the lower house of the National Council, following six days of debates there.

More than 150 MP's took the floor in the discussion, which focused on the cabinet's platform and makeup, to make various comments and suggestions.

Speaking in a TASS interview, one of them, Habib Mangal, said all of the speakers have expressed backing for the national reconciliation policy and stressed the ened to strengthen friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union. Many MP's, including members of the National Democratic Party of Afghanistan, criticized different policies of the previous government and called for decisive measures to rectify past mistakes.

Addressing the Wolasi Jirgah after the vote, Prime Minister Sharq thanked the parliamentarians for the constructive proposals and said his government will take them into account.

He expressed regret at the fact that the session has not been attended by representatives of some of the opposition groups.

"We do not think that the cabinet makeup is permanent. Any post in it is open to opposition figures deciding to support the national reconciliation policy and join the coalition government," Sharq continued.

"We are looking for a way to solve the overriding problem, that is to put an end to the war," he said.

The signature of the Geneva agreements, the Afghan head of government observed, has created conditions for the homecoming of millions of Afghan refugees.

"We hope that Pakistani authorities will exhibit common sense and observe these agreements," he said.

Sharq expressed satisfaction with a recent visit by U.N. representative Sadruddin Agah Khan to this country, saying that the United Nations is prepared to give assistance to Afghanistan with the expected inflow of refugees.

The Afghan prime minister said his country will need U.N. assistance also with terminating the war and rehabilitating the economy.

In conclusion Sharq thanked the parliamentarians for the trust expressed in his Government and assured them that his cabinet will spare no efforts to effect the national reconciliation policy, described by him as the only way out of the existing situation.

The Wolasi Jirgah adopted an address to the nation, saying, in particular, that the National Council sees its paramount task in ensuring a peaceful life for the Afghans, guaranteeing the unity of all the tribes and ethnic groups, and securing the return of refugees.

It urged the people actively to share in the national reconciliation policy and help bolster the Armed Forces.

The address appealed also to the commanders of armed opposition groups in Afghanistan to realize the crucial nature of the moment and the need to end bloodletting.

It stressed restored national unity as the only route to peace.

Assembly Views Sharq 'Program'

LD1906224988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1730 GMT 19 Jun 88

[Report by correspondent Aleksandr Shkirando from Kabul; date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] For several days now deputies to the lower house of the National Assembly, the Loya Jirgah, have been discussing the program of members of the new ministerial cabinet that has been formed by that well-known statesman under past regimes, Mohammad Hasan Sharq.

This sort of measure was implemented in Afghanistan more than 15 years ago during the reign of King Zahir Shah. Afghans viewed such debates in Parliament as one of the main manifestations of democracy. Despite differences in the views of many deputies, they unanimously passed a vote of confidence in the new government with which they link hopes for establishing a long awaited peace in Afghanistan.

As I see it, one cannot say that the new government is a coalition. As is well known, the leaders of the Afghan opposition abroad rejected such a coalition. The current government is more a government of the left-wing democratic bloc, representing the interests of political parties and public groups that operate legitimately in the country.

After the government received its vote of confidence, Prime Minister Mohammad Hasan Sharq stated: The current ministerial cabinet has been formed on the basis of a joint goal: the pursuit of the policy of reconciliation and safeguarding the truce between hostile groups. Representatives of hostile groups have not joined this cabinet, but it does include people who can successfully implement a policy of reconciliation and who are ready to cooperate in setting up a coalition government, stated Afghan Prime Minister Muhammed Hasan Sharq.

Attempts by Afghan leaders to find a sensible contact with representatives of the opposition are continuing.

Najibullah Addresses Nangarhar Tribal Elders

LD1806133588 Moscow TASS in English 1307 GMT 18 Jun 88

[Text] Kabul June 17 TASS—The implementation of the national reconciliation policy and the intensification of efforts to achieve peace in the country became the principal subjects of discussion at a widely representative jirgah of tribal elders and chiefs of the Afghan province of Nangarhar.

The BAKHTAR News Agency reported that Afghan President Najibullah who attended the jirgah told those present about the activities of the party and government to implement the national reconciliation policy and to end the fratricidal war.

Touching upon the Afghan-Pakistani agreement signed in Geneva, the president pointed out that Afghanistan strictly observes all the points of bilateral accords whereas Pakistan, which does not want an end to the undeclared war, continues to supply the intransigent part of the opposition with up-to-date weapons, infiltrates groups of extremists into Afghanistan, and hinders the return of Afghan refugees.

Addressing the elders and chiefs of the tribes, Najibullah called on them to become a reliable barrier in the path of the extremists' penetration of Afghanistan, displaying still greater patriotic feelings and preventing the enemies from disturbing the peaceful life of compatriots.

More than twelve thousand refugees have returned home following the signing of the Geneva agreements, the BAKHTAR News Agency reports, more than 200 people returned to Nangarhar and Paktia Provinces in recent days alone. Local authorities gave a warm welcome to the returnees, rendered the necessary material assistance to them, and provided them with transport means for them to get to the places of residence.

Over the past twenty-four hours, a booby trap disguised as a toy exploded in Khowst District. Two children were killed and four wounded.

Bloody clashes between various groups of extremists continue unabated. In Nangarhar Province, twelve people were killed and nine heavily wounded as a result of clashes which flared up between militants of Mahaz-e Milli and Jamiyat-e Eslami.

Group Sends Appeal to Ziaul Haq on POW's

LD1706164588 Moscow TASS in English 1349 GMT 17 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 17 TASS—"We are deeply worried about the life of the young soldiers who for various reasons were taken prisoner and are held in captivity by the insurgents. Some of their camps are located on Pakistani territory," says an appeal of the Soviet Women's Committee to President Ziaul Haq of Pakistan. It was handed in here today to Shahid Mohammad Amin, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Pakistan to the USSR, by a delegation of the Soviet Women's Committee.

The delegation included Yulia Drunina, a well-known Soviet woman poet and member of the Presidium of the Soviet Women's Committee. "It would be so nice for our boys taken prisoner in Afghanistan to know that there are people who wait for them, who love them, who sympathize with them," she said in a TASS interview. "I am a veteran of the Great Patriotic War, and I feel most deeply for the suffering of mothers and other relatives of the Soviet soldiers who are reported missing. This is why we shall do our utmost for achieving their release and return home."

A lot of letters from mothers of the soldiers who are reported missing have been coming of late to the Soviet Women's Committee. They write that they do not have a moment of peace, that they do not sleep, that their lives have turned into the endless waiting for their sons.

The appeal of the Soviet Women's Committee urged the president of Pakistan to display humaneness and, using his authority, to influence the Afghan opposition leaders with a view to achieving the release and return home of the Soviet soldiers.

After the meeting in the Pakistani Embassy the TASS correspondent asked some of its participants to share their impressions. They said that the Pakistani ambassador had assured them that he understood their concern and the humane motives of the step taken by the Soviet Women's Committee. At the same time, he had mentioned the difficulties involved in this undertaking. According to the ambassador, the Government of Pakistan has taken steps in this direction already. However, they have not been "crowned with success so far." The ambassador said that the Pakistani side would appreciate the supplying of it with information about the location of the Soviet pprisoners of war. He expressed hope that cooperation in the solution of this problem would promote the improvement of relations between the USSR and Pakistan. The ambassador promised to pass over the appeal to the president of Pakistan and said that he personally would work for attaining this goal.

Former Afghanistan POW Discusses Experiences

PM1706165188 Moscow TRUD in Russian 14 Jun 88 p 3

[Own correspondent I. Belov report: "Missing in Action: Internationalist Servicemen Returned From Captivity Talk"]

[Excerpts] The Soviet Government and Soviet Army Command are doing their utmost to establish the fate of each of the 311 Soviet servicemen missing in action in Afghanistan. To date it is known that roughly one-third of them died in fighting. An intensive search for the others is under way. Each of them on their return home will be afforded the opportunity and assistance to continue their education, obtain work, and resume a normal life as quickly as possible.

This was stated by V. Khrobostov, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate's Propaganda and Agitation Directorate, during a news conference held for Soviet and foreign journalists. [passage omitted]

At the end of the news conference your TRUD correspondent spoke with one its participants, 25-year-old Valeriy Didenko. Now demobilized from the Armed Forces, he lives in Kiev, where he works as a tower-crane operator. This is what he said:

"After 3 months of service in Afghanistan I was taken prisoner near the Salang Pass while on a command assignment. I was kept in the Afghan mountains for about 2 months and then transferred to Peshawar on a convoy heading for Pakistan to pick up munitions. I was kept under guard in a stone barrack for some time, and one night I attempted to make a hole in the wall and escape. I was caught and beaten. I then went to a camp near Quetta, where the so-called Islamic regiments which reinforce the opposition forces inside Afghanistan are formed. There they tried to convert me to Islam and to make me fight on the side of the armed opposition. I was threatened with execution in the event of refusal. At a meeting the enemy organized with journalists from the United States, the FRG, France, and a number of other countries I was, according to their plan, to agree to the 'proposal' that I betray my homeland. But I flatly refused to do this there, saying that if I remained alive I would return to the Soviet Union without fail. Afterwards they put me in shackles and kept me along with two other comrades in a pit hewed out of the rock face. They would throw harmful insects in every now and again, and we were starved. We had to sleep on bare stones.

"I spent a little under a year in Pakistan altogether and then, through the mediation of the Red Cross, was interned and taken to Switzerland. There along with 10 other POW's I was kept under guard in the small town of Zugerberger, where we carried out various agricultural and drainage work in fields near the barracks. We were frequently visited by Soviet Embassy officials, who brought us letters from family and friends, books, and newspapers. After 2 years, as provided for under the accord between the International Red Cross and the armed opposition, I was able to return home. I am grateful to the party and Government of our country for their unflagging efforts to save internationalist servicemen who have tragically fallen into the enemy's hands."

Algeria's Belhouchet Holds Talks With Akhromeyev

LD1706202488 Algiers Domestic Service in Arabic 1830 GMT 17 Jun 88

[Text] General 'Abdallah Belhouchet, deputy minister of national defense and chief of staff of the National People's Army, is on a visit to Moscow. He held talks yesterday with Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev, first deputy minister of defense and chief of staff. The talks passed in an atmosphere of friendship. During the talks there was an exchange of views on Algerian-Soviet cooperation. Gen 'Abdallah Belhouchet also had a meeting with a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and head of the international relations section and reviewed with him issues of cooperation and relations between the two countries.

Polyakov Mediates Between Egypt, Libya

JN1806181088 Manama WAKH in Arabic 1715 GMT 18 Jun 88

[Text] Cairo, 18 Jun (WAKH)—It was learned in Cairo today that the Soviet Union is currently launching a mediation effort to clear the atmosphere prevailing in Egyptian-Libyan relations.

Informed sources told the WAKH correspondent in Cairo that Vladimir Polyakov, chief of the Near Eastern and North African Countries Administration at the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has recently launched this initiative to end the sharp differences between Egypt and Libya and bring about a reconciliation between them during the forthcoming stage.

The sources added that the Soviet proposals met with a favorable initial response by Egyptian President Husni Mubarak—a matter which encouraged Polyakov to travel to Libya after his departure from Cairo on Tuesday [14 June] to submit the initiative to Libyan leader Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi.

Polyakov is expected to submit a detailed report to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev on the results of the Soviet mediation effort between Cairo and Tripoli and also on the results of his talks with the leaders of the two states.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Petrov on African Reaction to Moscow Summit

LD1806164988 Moscow International Service in French 1900 GMT 10 Jun 88

[Text] Soviet Government envoys have been telling the world's statesmen and political leaders about the results of the meeting held in Moscow between Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan. Here is a commentary by Vladimir Petrov:

Judging by the reactions of the African states to the Soviet-U.S. summit, he writes, they have basically welcomed the results of the talks between the Soviet and U.S. leaders, both on the issues of disarmament as well as on those that directly affect the interests of the African Continent. During a meeting with the Soviet envoy, Jose Eduardo dos Santos, president of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola and the People's Republic of Angola, said he favors the continuation of the Soviet-U.S. political dialogue and highly assessed the Soviet-U.S. talks. The Moscow summit is an event of major importance in international life and offers the prospect of improving the world situation, including the situation in southern Africa, Jose Eduardo dos Santos stressed.

It is noteworthy that Soviet diplomacy last year took a series of important measures aimed at defusing the explosive situation in the Horn of Africa. Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin had talks with U.S. Under Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker about the regional conflict in southern Africa. The Soviet Union showed that it is ready to join the quadripartite talks between Angola, Cuba, the RSA, and the United States at any time if the parties consider it to be necessary.

To tell the truth, the Soviet-U.S. summit in Moscow revealed serious differences between the Soviet and U.S. approaches to the problems of southern Africa. Nonetheless, the door remains open.

Ethiopia was also very satisfied with the results of the Soviet-U.S. summit. It believes that the positive orientation of the talks toward dialogue and cooperation at the expense of confrontation is in the interests of all mankind. This is what was said by Mengistu Haile Mariam, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Ethiopia and president of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, speaking to the Soviet special envoy. The Soviet-U.S. diologue, which was started a long time ago, has facilitated a certain improvement in the international situation in general as well as on the African Continent. In my opinion, Vladimir Petrov writes, the proof of this is the beginning of the settlement [as heard] of relations between Ethiopia and Somalia, which for a long time have been characterized by confrontation. The same process can be seen in Sudanese-Ethiopian relations. Important measures have also been taken to normalize relations between Chad and Libya. Libya has announced that it recognizes the present Chadian Government and is proposing a peaceful dialogue.

The beneficial impact of positive changes in the world can also be felt on the other continents, in Asia and Latin America. There are grounds for hoping that the cold period will at last be followed by warmer weather. This is what the people of the entire world long for, Vladimir Petrov writes in conclusion.

Problem of Eritrean Separatism Analyzed

Situation Worsens

PM1506154988 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 9 Jun 88 p 3

[Andrey Balebanov "Commentator's Opinion": "Splittists and Their Patrons"]

[Text] Alarming reports are coming out of Ethiopia about a deterioration in the situation in the north of the country. Acts of terrorism carried out by separatist gangs and aimed at splitting the republic are threatening its unity and freedom.

Separatism has been the worst enemy of the national democratic revolution in Ethiopia since its very beginning. The separatists have consistently rejected all the government's appeals to take part in a peaceful settlement of the Eritrean problem. Under the Constitution of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, for which 87 percent of the Eritrean population voted, this northern province is granted autonomy and its National Assembly is granted the right of legislative initiative. During the discussion and ratification of the constitution Ethiopian citizens expressed themselves in favor of preserving and consolidating national unity.

The Government of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia is forced to use the already limited resources earmarked for the acceleration of economic development and the overcoming of backwardness to defend the gains of the 1974 antifeudal revolution. The main burden of the struggle against the terrorists has to be borne by the revolutionary army, which, like the people's militia, is sustaining heavy casualties. However, the dangerous situation which has now developed in the north affects all the country's citizens in one way or another.

Mengistu Haile Mariam, general secretary of the Workers Party of Ethiopia Central Committee and president of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, has said that responsibility for the exacerbation of the situation in the north of the country falls on separatist groupings "which are fighting at the bidding of external forces and in the latter's interests." According to THE NEW YORK TIMES, the U.S. CIA is spending $500,000 annually on subversive activities against the Ethiopian Government, which Washington finds unacceptable.

The door remains open for everyone who is prepared to take part in the building of the new Ethiopia. However, those who continue to pursue the path of undermining national unity will be resolutely rebuffed, the republic leaders emphasize. Eritrea, the cradle of the Ethiopian civilization, is inseparable from the bulk of the country. The Eritrean problem is an internal problem and, as the peace-loving public rightly believes, an internal solution to this problem must be found.

'Separatists' Responsible

LD1706125588 Moscow in English to Africa
1700 GMT 9 Jun 88

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The situation in the north of Ethiopia deteriorated in March when split-away [as heard] groups renewed efforts to tear a part of Ethiopia's territory away from it. With outside assistance they mounted a well-prepared offensive in Eritrea and Tigray which, as always, came at a moment of difficulty for the young Ethiopian Republic, when another drought began to ravage vast regions of the country, imperiling millions of lives, especially in the country's north. But what do the separatists care about the people's sufferings, which are always aggravated by an escalation of hostilities?

In recent fighting military hardware and weapons in large quantities have been captured from the separatists, including such weapons as the M-16 American-made automatic rifle. This proves the separatists have support the country. Witnesses even say that carpets, refrigerators, and video taperecorders were found in captured dugouts. The separatist leaders apparently don't want to give up their life of comfort, even if it is paid for with the blood of their fellow countrymen. Although they themselves are well supplied by the foes of united revolutionary Ethiopia, the separatists are barring distribution of relief to the starving population of the northern districts.

Responsibility for the aggravated situation in the country's north rests with the separatist groups, said Ethiopia's leader Mengistu Haile Mariam. Those are mercenaries fighting on orders from people outside the country. For them the so-called national liberation struggle has turned into a well-paid job. Thousands of patriots all over the country have responded to the call of the Labor Party and the Government of Ethiopia. A general mobilization is on, and vehicles with volunteers are driving northwards and people are joining the militia. The Ethiopians are determined to fight for the unity of their country.

West Using Africa as Dumping Ground for Waste

LD1706213488 Moscow in English to Africa
1700 GMT 17 Jun 88

[From "Africa as We See It" program; commentary by Aleksey Litvinov]

[Text] The scandal over the secret burial of industrial waste carried out by a number of Western monopolies continues to be in the focus of attention of the public and governments of African countries. Commentary is by Aleksey Litvinov:

[Litvinov] Another tragic event in these happenings is the dumping in Nigeria near the city of Koko, Bendel state, of Italian industrial waste. The analyses that were carried out have shown that they are highly toxic and radioactive. The danger is so great that the population inhabiting the nearby territory is being hastily evacuated. Preparations are under way to take the toxic substances out of the country. Fifteen persons suspected of being involved in the shady business have been arrested. President Babangida announced on Monday that everyone whose guilt is proved will be executed.

I'd like to remind you that the operations connected with the dumping in Africa of industrial waste from the Western countries became known last month. Nigeria was in the vanguard of the protest action against it. On Nigeria's initiative, a corresponding resolution was unanimously adopted at the recent assembly session of the heads of state and government of the member countries of the Organization of African Unity. As a result, some of the states have rejected the agreements concluded by them earlier on burying of industrial wastes in their territories. That is why the sharp and indignant reaction of the country's leadership to the facts showing that the Nigerian territory had been contaminated did not come as a surprise. The alarming case about turning Africa into a dump of the West is high on the agenda of the conference on ecology now on in Accra, the capital of Ghana. The participating countries are the states of the central and western Africa, including Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Ghana, Gabon, and Gambia. The participants of the meeting had forwarded a message to the industrialized countries with a demand to protect the continent against such actions. It is imperative that these countries should come to understand that the African land is not the continuation of their own, stated at the conference the minister of transport and communications of Ghana, Mr Yaw Donkor.

Frankly speaking, the impudence of the Western states and the transnational corporations that are making use of the difficult situation of the African countries and are intruding into the continent is astonishing. Economic and political blackmail, the plunder of resources, and the shameless exploitation of the cheap labor force—such is the wide arsenal of their activities. But the new, you might say cynical, forms in the shape of contaminating Africa, its waters and its soils, seem to me to be the quintessence of the Western policy with regard to the continent. It is terrible to think what this policy will cost the African peoples. I am firmly convinced that the most resolute steps should be taken to put an end to this state of affairs.

Burkinabe Foreign Minister Departs Moscow

PM1906170188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jun 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Departure From Moscow"]

[Text] Burkinabe Minister of External Relations J.-M. Palm, who had been on a business visit to the USSR, left Moscow 16 June.

Zimbabwe Official Addresses CPSU Delegation

LD1806015788 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1406 GMT 17 Jun 88

[Text] Harare, 17 Jun (TASS)—Relations between the USSR and Zimbabwe are based on a unity of goals in the struggle for peace and social progress, Callistus Ndlovu, member of the Central Committee and the country's deputy minister for youth, sport and culture, has stated. He was speaking in Harare today at a news conference devoted to the visit to Zimbabwe of a CPSU delegation led by I.I. Skiba, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and head of the CPSU Central Committee's Agriculture and Food Industry Department.

Callistus Ndlovu emphasized the important role of the USSR in strengthening the political and economic independence of developing states. The experience of party and state construction in the USSR, he pointed out, is of fundamental significance for Zimbabwe, which has proclaimed a course aimed at creating a new society. The member of the ZANU-PF [Zimbabwe African National Union—Patriotic Front] Central Committee expressed confidence that the visit of the CPSU Central Committee delegation will make it possible to strengthen the revolutionary solidarity of the peoples of the two countries in their joint struggle for peace and socialism.

RSA's Tutu in USSR for Christian Millenium

Addresses Asia, Africa Group

MB1806135388 Moscow in Afrikaans to Southern Africa 1745 GMT 17 Jun 88

[Text] The South African Anglican archbishop, Desmond Tutu, has visited the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Orthodox Church, which is commemorating 1,000 years of Christianity in the Soviet Union. A meeting was arranged in Moscow by the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Asia and Africa between the Reverend Tutu and scientists, journalists, and representatives of the Moscow public. In his speech, Desmond Tutu said:

[Begin Tutu recording in English, fading into Afrikaans translation] All we want is a new South Africa. We don't want to drive white people into the sea. We want a new South Africa where black and white would be able to live harmoniously together. There are many white South Africans who oppose apartheid, and many of them have paid the highest price, with their lives, for their negative attitude toward what is going on inside the country.

We know that we shall be victorious, but for us there is another question—how and when we will achieve victory. We hope to live in peace as soon as possible. [end recording]

With reference to the situation in his country, the Reverend Desmond Tutu said:

[Begin Tutu recording in English, fading into Afrikaans translation] We have always said the way forward is one that will bring people to the negotiating table. Now history has no example of those holding power giving it away or sharing it with others. Because of this, we must apply pressure.

[Words indistinct] in my country even children are thrown into jail for their opposition to the regime. The South African Government is prepared to pay any price in order to retain power. A third state of emergency has just been declared. [end recording]

Later, Desmond Tutu was asked by correspondents [words indistinct]. He said:

[Begin Tutu recording in English, fading into Afrikaans translation] I only speak from a Christian point of view. As a Christian, I would oppose only the theology that is, in my view, atheistic. I mean, it's got nothing to do with people, the people that I see. In this country, there is a

Christian church [words indistinct] as well as other ideologies—Buddhists, for example, whom I consider the most (?distrustful) people in the world. We have to cooperate with everyone.

The World Council of Churches has a special section for theological representatives of other religions and ideologies. Believers and nonbelievers have to work together in solving all kinds of problems important to all of humanity—for example, defending human rights.

Obviously, my own position is based on my own church and my own beliefs. I think that was an unfair question. [end recording]

Talks With Demichev

PM1706161388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jun 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Friendly Talk"]

[Text] P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, received Anglican Archbishop D. Tutu of the RSA in the Kremlin 14 June.

During a friendly talk P.N. Demichev stated that Soviet people have always sided and will always side with the South African patriots' just cause. Our country, he said, is fully resolved to continue to support the African peoples' national liberation struggle and to promote the economic and social development of young African states.

P.N. Demichev expressed solidarity with the "Sharpeville Six"—South African freedom-fighters who are again facing the full weight of the death penalty. The entire world community, he stressed, resolutely condemns the apartheid policy in South Africa. This policy is an anachronism in our era.

D. Tutu described the situation in the RSA as a crisis. The country's government, he noted, has set off on the warpath of suppressing opposition. To all intents and purposes all democratic organizations have been banned. Moreover, the RSA is pursuing an aggressive policy against neighboring independent states.

The church, the guest stressed, has become one of the most effective opposition forces. It is exposing violations of human rights in the RSA. We oppose the government's desire to isolate some of the clergy and make them obedient puppets.

Patriots do not doubt the outcome of their struggle. We have on our side the world community, which condemns the injustices being committed in the RSA. We advocate a nonracial and democratic country where black and white can live in peace and equality.

D. Tutu expressed gratitude to the Soviet people for their support for the South African people in their struggle for justice and freedom. He stressed that African peoples welcome the Soviet Union's peace initiatives and its proposal to establish a new economic order in the world.

Exarch German of the Russian Orthodox Church in Central Europe and archbishop of Berlin and Central Europe, took part in the talk.

East Europe

Polish Sejm Makes Changes in Government Posts

LD1706192688 Moscow TASS in English 1806 GMT 17 Jun 88

[Text] Warsaw June 17 TASS—Today's session of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic relieved of the duties of vice-marshals of the Sejm Jadwiga Biedrzycka and Mieczyslaw Rakowski. Elzbieta Gacek and Tadeusz Porembski were elected to those posts. Elzbieta Gacek was relieved of the duties of member of the State Council of Poland.

The Sejm relieved Marian Orzechowski of the duties of the minister of foreign affairs of Poland and appointed Tadeusz Olechowski to that post.

Disturbances Reported in Polish Election

LD1906182388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1755 GMT 19 Jun 88

[Excerpts] Warsaw, 19 Jun (TASS)—Elections to the people's councils were held in the PPR today. [passage omitted]

As the government press spokesman has reported, during the elections only insignificant attempts by small groups of extremists in Gdansk, Krakow, and Warsaw to disturb the peace took place. The population did not support these provocative outbursts.

PZPR Plenum Adopts Resolution on Reform

PM1706153988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jun 88 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "PZPR Central Committee Plenum Resolution"]

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Jun—A resolution on the party's tasks to continue the reforms in the economy and state and in the sphere of cadre policy notes that the PZPR Central Committee confirms its political will to continue to pursue the course of socialist renewal in all spheres of Polish life. This resolution was adopted at the PZPR Central Committee Plenum held 14-15 June. The plenum approved the assessments and areas of activity contained in the PZPR Politburo report delivered by W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and tasked all organs, organizations, and party members with promoting their implementation.

The document says that the implementation of the line of socialist renewal has set important processes in motion and substantially changed the makeup of the country. However, the progress made cannot satisfy us. Positive trends have recently become enfeebled and—in the material sphere—have even been violated. The efforts of the party and its allies need to be concentrated and all patriotic social forces rallied in order to overcome these weaknesses and everything that is slowing down the dynamics and effectiveness of the reforms.

Poland needs a broad nationwide coalition in support of the reforms that would make it possible to galvanize the energy of the population in order to successfully resolve urgent problems by taking into consideration differences in opinions and overcoming mistrust and prejudice. The party will resolutely oppose attempts to slow down the process of change.

The PZPR Central Committee believes that its key task is to resolutely boost the effectiveness of the second phase of the economic reform and carry out a coordinated regrouping of forces and resources in economic policy. The need to implement transformations aimed at the further democratization of the political system and at boosting its effectiveness is also stressed. The most important tasks include strengthening the Sejm's supreme role in the state, strengthening the people's councils and their economic independence, and broadening the platform of national accord. The comprehensive, profound changes under way in the life of the country must be reflected in a new fundamental law. The Central Committee submitted a proposal to the Council of State to begin work on the draft of a new Polish Constitution.

The resolution outlines specific measures to consolidate the party's vanguard and leading role and indicates the need to strictly observe the principle of PZPR members' personal responsibility for their area of work at all levels.

The document stresses that the PZPR Central Committee expresses confidence that participation in the upcoming elections to the people's councils will illustrate the public's support for the process of socialist renewal and will guarantee the election of those candidates who are worthy of the highest trust.

New Polish Initiative on Central Europe Viewed

LD1806100988 Moscow TASS in English 0916 GMT 18 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 18 TASS—TASS news analyst Aleksandr Kondrashov writes:

To specify ways towards reduction and elimination of tactical nuclear weapons in central Europe, to develop the concept of the prevention of a sudden attack, to establish a zone of reduced arms at the line of contact of the two blocs, and to give greater scope to exchanges of military information with a view to building confidence—this is how one can briefly describe the contents of the new peace initiative proposed recently by the Government of the Polish People's Republic.

Based on the fundamental provisions of the "Jaruzelski Plan" which won broad international recognition over the past year, the new Polish proposals are more detailed and specific. They are directly aimed at undoing many tangles at the talks being held in Vienna between the experts of the two military-political alliances.

Geographically the new Polish initiative applies to central Europe. However, its political importance is much wider. It can be rightfully viewed as one of the first specific manifestations of the positive influence which the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting is having upon the international situation. The process of improving relations between the two great powers has become at the same time an example for and stimulus to other countries to participate more actively in international affairs and to augment their own contribution to the process of relaxation of tension.

As is known, a coordinated position on the elimination of asymmetry and disbalance and on a resolute transition to the establishment of a non-offensive pattern of armaments in Europe was not worked out at the Moscow summit owing to the American side's reserve. The Polish initiative which is addressed to the West is expressly aimed at overcoming that reserve, and manifests the sincerity and realism of the allied socialist countries in the approach to a reduction in military confrontation in Europe. Based first of all on national interests the Polish initiative is at the same time consonant with the policy of all Warsaw-Treaty countries and takes into account the positions of Western countries.

The time for putting forward an enlarged and supplemented "Jaruzelski Plan" was chosen not only with due regard for the favourable climate that has taken shape in the world following the Moscow summit. Throughout last year Polish diplomats persistently worked to explain and discuss the original version of the plan with Western political figures, representatives of political parties and the general public. And, one must say, achieved considerable results.

The "Jaruzelski Plan" was on the whole viewed seriously among the official circles of Western countries. But the main thing is, perhaps, in the fact that broad sections of the public and a number of influential political parties of the West, the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), for example, solidarised with it.

It was on the strength of the comments and evaluations that Poland made a new constructive, realistic step which became an illustration of the flexibility and dynamism of the coordinated policy of socialist countries and their sincere concern for the strengthening of peace on the European Continent.

What will be a reaction of Western countries? Of course, one cannot rule out evasiveness, reserve, and slow-going usual in such cases among their official circles and particularly among NATO authorities. But still it seems that the well-considered and purely businesslike call issued by Warsaw and devoid of any propaganda elements will not remain unnoticed.

In prospect it must be of considerable benefit also in the elaboration of the mandate of the Vienna follow-up meeting of the countries participating in the Helsinki process and during coordination of practical measures to slacken military confrontation in central Europe. One can say with full confidence that it will meet with support and understanding among broad sections of West European public the voice of which sounds ever more loudly in the determination of ways towards a peaceful, secure and nuclear-free Europe.

Levin Examines MSZMP Conference Results

LD1806145388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 2 Jun 88

["Workers' Movement—News and Comment" program presented by Viktor Levin]

[Excerpts] [Levin] We are devoting today's broadcast to the results of the all-Hungarian party conference. The conference took place from 20 to 23 May, but the Hungarian press, and not only the Hungarian press, continues to write about the decisions adopted at it, in detail, even today. There is nothing surprising about this. The conference adopted decisions of fundamental importance, which pose very many issues in a new way, and it is natural that time is needed to analyze and interpret them. [passage omitted]

I think that things may have been laid on a bit thick during the polemics at times, but there is no doubt that there were plenty of difficulties, and very acute difficulties. Let's turn to the facts. For many years, the oppressive burden of increasing debts has taken its toll on the economy. Let me quote this figure: The total debt in convertible currency has reached $18 billion. That means that there is $1,800 of debt for every Hungarian. It is a very serious burden, and it has created more and more pressure on the economy. This is not the only reason for the economic troubles, but as a result, the standard of living has started to fall. Economic problems have given rise not only to sharp discussion, which in general is quite logical, but sometimes also to statements of an antisocialist nature. One must say quite frankly that public opinion polls were showing a fall in the popularity of the MSZMP. The Hungarian Communists looked the facts straight in the eye in an honest way; they did not start looking for mitigating circumstances or doubting the conclusions about the fall in popularity of the MSZMP, which, as we know from the stagnant practices, was not difficult to do, by branding all those who make sharp criticism as enemies of socialism. [passage omitted]

Let me observe that a new composition of the Politburo, which was subjected to decisive renewal, was elected at the conference. Of the old members of the Politburo, only five remained, and these were the comrades who had been elected to the Politburo in the last 3-4 years. Six are new faces. It would not be superfluous to add here that the average age of Politburo members, which has risen steadily over the last 2 decades—it has gone from 50.9 years to 59.6 years—today is 52.7 years, and two of the Politburo members only crossed the threshold of their forties this year. As is known, the leader of the MSZMP for many years, Comrade Kadar, was elected chairman of the MSZMP, and did not become a member of the new Politburo. Sincere words of thanks to Janos Kadar, who has headed the party for more than 30 years, were heard at the conference. The past years have seen achievements on the biggest scale in Hungary's history. Karoly Grosz, the new general secretary of the MSZMP, said in one of his interviews on the eve of the all-Hungarian party conference that Comrade Kadar was a model for him. But time takes its toll; today's tasks require fresh approaches and fresh forces.

Renewal of the party was named as a key task. Speaking at the party conference, Karoly Grosz stated that he agrees resolutely with Comrade Kadar that the most urgent task is to strengthen authority. Comrade Grosz came out unambiguously against those who figure that the one-party system has failed to justify itself, since, as these people say, the country has come up against today's difficulties. These people, Comrade Grosz said, do not take into account that it is not simply a question of a decision of the will, but a consequence of objective social possibilities. Today's one-party system is the unequivocal decision of the will of the people, a result that has come about through history. I am convinced, Karoly Grosz stressed, that we need a single party, a militant alliance just as it was created, as it has been, and as it can be if we rid ourselves of ossified ideological prejudices, if democratism and discipline in it grow stronger, and if it rids itself of the fetters of secrecy, inwardness, and closing itself off, which grow from a dogmatic work style. The MSZMP will then be able to play its leading role, on its own, despite the difficulties.

I have asked Vladimir Stefanov, All-Union Radio correspondent in Budapest, to take part in today's program. He spoke to a number of comrades and prepared several interviews. I now hand over to him.

[Stefanov] I recorded my first interview at the MSZMP Central Committee. My interviewee was Istvan Degen, head of a Central Committee subdepartment.

[Begin recording] [Stefanov] Comrade Degen, internal party renewal is cited in the resolution of the party conference as one of the most important conditions for the overall renewal of Hungarian society. In connection with this, what tasks must the party solve, and how?

[Degen speaking in Hungarian with superimposed Russian translation] We stated at the party conference that the democratization of society is only possible to the extent to which internal party democracy is capable of developing. For precisely this reason, we attribute very great significance to the solution of this task. What is new in the approach to the problem of internal party renewal is this: We believe that the MSZMP must be transformed from an officework party into a party of politics. What do we mean? Formerly, and even now, party organs devoted most of their time and energy to direct participation in conducting the affairs of state. In essence, they were fulfilling the same functions as ministries and other organs of the state. It is essential to reject this practice. The party's job, first and foremost, is to be engaged in the definition of political principles and the basic directions along which our life and our economy should develop.

For this, the party also will have to replace its tools, and move from direct injuction interference in the affairs of state organs and public organizations to methods of winning over its partners politically, by means of discussions and wide debate on this or that question of the life of society. In this connection, there is the question of the relationship between leading party organs and the party apparatus. Here, too, there will be major changes. The adoption of decisions will become, in practice, the prerogative of elected leading party organs. Executive organs, including the Politburo, will not take such responsibilities upon themselves in the future.

The party apparatus will be given only the role of organizer. Its task is to facilitate, by political methods, the fulfillment of decisions by higher organs, to create the necessary conditions for carrying out local political work and debate. Our party will continue to operate on the principles of democratic centralism, but its work methods, as you see, will be substantially changed. Debate is to be the main form of party life. In connection with this, the question of the view of the majority arose at the conference, how to deal with this view, especially after a decision has been adopted. We believe that to close a controversial issue by exclusively administrative measures is not a way out of the situation. It is necessary to afford an opportunity for the minority to return to a discussion of its views within the party, for example, with the participation of scientific institutions, and to place the question on the agenda again. Here, I will note that the minority is obliged to carry out the decisions adopted by the majority.

[Stefanov] Many people spoke at the conference about the need to restore the party's ideological, political, and organizational unity. What do you think, Comrade Degen, will the decisions adopted facilitate that process?

[Degen] Strengthening the unity of the party is one of our most important tasks, but we are now interpreting the concept of unity in a new way. One cannot expect all Communists to have an identical attitude to this or that problem. So today we consider one of the most important conditions of unity to be the free expression of opinions in discussion. Party unity must be formed through debate. This will be an ongoing process, during which we will strive each time to achieve a new unity on new questions. Moreover, I am assuming that unity will not always be based on such broad foundations as it has been in the past decade.

[Stefanov] During the work of the party conference, the question of platforms was raised. The forum did not agree with those who proposed the creation of various platforms within the party. Yet, the party will return to this question again, for the view of the minority.

[Degen] I would like to make clear that the conference did not express a specific view on the question of freedom of platforms. It merely voted for a resolution that did not contain a proposal on the creation of platforms. We will return again to the problem of the freedom of platforms in the party when we start reworking the MSZMP rules. By the way, it will be one of the most important aspects of that important work.

[Stefanov] The next theme I would like to broach in our conversation is improving the political system of society. On this score, the resolution contains the concept of socialist pluralism. How is that understood in your party?

[Degen] The reform of the political system of society, which will take place in the spirit of socialist pluralism, assumes that the party will become, as I said before, primarily a political force, while it will hand over the management of specific affairs to the state assembly, the government, councils, and public organizations, the independence and responsibility of which will rise considerably. In our understanding, socialist pluralism is also related to the fact that it will be carried out within the framework of a one-party system by means of a practical division of powers, that is, an expansion of the field of activity of the already existing political institutes and a certain restriction on the powers of the party itself. The manifestation of varying interests and ideologies, and indeed organized demonstrations is also socialist pluralism in our understanding.

[Stefanov] And now I would like to address certain problems in the MSZMP's economic policy. These issues were not central at the conference, but nevertheless the resolution sets forth certain fundamental provisions that will undoubtedly have a serious influence on the Hungarian economy and the social sphere. For example, revival of private enterprise is foreseen, and involvement of private capital in the economy. The resolution points out that distribution, in connection with this, is also to be carried out in accordance with labor and invested capital. What comment can you make on these not altogether usual provisions? How is it planned to implement them?

[Degen] The thing is that this year we intend to pass a law on economic amalgamations and associations that will be an embodiment of a completely new approach to various forms of property: state, cooperative, and private. The law makes their rights equal. We reject theses that the state form of property is the supreme one. The aim of the law is to bring the public's capital into action, and introduce market regulation in this sphere as well. The former economic concept did not permit, for example, the mixing of means of production of different enterprises, all the more if one was state-run and the other cooperative. Now such an opportunity will be provided.

If adopted, the new law will make it possible to bring major financial means that have accumulated in private pockets into circulation. Up until now, owners of these funds have had to spend them on luxuries, they have not been able to invest money in the expansion of a business. The law will remove these restrictions. Moreover, private operators will be able to take part in getting public capital moving. For example, this means that two or three state enterprises, together with a private individual, will in the future be able to form a share company. One need not worry that private capital will take on a large scale in our economy. Of course, the proportion of it will grow, but not so much as to make a substantial change to property relations in the country.

[Stefanov] Sharp differentiation in income, people getting rich, stratification of society into the poor and the rich are already, as the Hungarian press writes, evoking irritation in Hungary. Can one expect that when the new law is passed, social tensions will increase? Will all this help to achieve the national unity in the country that is so necessary today, judging by the decisions of the party conference?

[Degen] The fact that rich people have emerged in society, and that irritation has come about, is nothing bad in my view, because this irritation at the same time is a stimulus; it makes people work harder and better. The shame is not that some people in our country live too well. The problem is that there are people who live very badly, and that is where the irritation comes from. I think that if all our innovations lead to the economy stabilizing and we rise to a new level of social development, then all this will very quickly lead to national accord.

[Stefanov] Various opinions have appeared in the Hungarian press about these new features in the economy. Some think they belong to the contemporary concept of socialism, others see a forced departure, but a departure nevertheless, from the ideas of socialism.

[Degen] I cannot talk about other European socialist countries, but about Hungary I can say definitely: Socialism has not yet been built here. Putting it even more radically, what exists in Hungary today is not a socialist society with a capital "s." It is a formation that is just moving along the road to socialism. In that case we must decide what level of development we are at and apply the means of construction that suit that level. It is this correspondence that we are now trying to achieve. Thus, I would not set our present measures off against socialism, because without them, we would not be moving at all toward the society of the future, and we would end up in a situation of constant conflicts and economic recession. It is by taking the realities of today into account that we can ensure an upsurge in construction of socialism in our country.

[Stefanov] Such is what Istvan Degen thinks. There is no doubt that much is right in Istvan Degen's reasoning—or logical, at least. But all the same, without entering into polemics, I will permit myself to pose a few questions that are difficult to answer when you are in our guest's position. First, how has it come about that, at times that are not the best for the Hungarian economy, millions, and some say billions, have accumulated in the pockets of private people, and more than a few of them? At any rate, according to the estimates of the experts at Hungary's Central Statistical Directorate, the population's invisible, that is, unaccounted for, income alone amounts to 100 million forints a year. For comparison, I will tell you that the state is in a position to spend only 8 billion on housing construction, for example.

In connection with this, here is the next question: Is involvement in the economy, the capitalization, of these immense funds consistent with socialism, as some Hungarian economists assert, or is it just the same a forced measure? And if a forced one, then is it not a lesson for the future? Further, Comrade Degen asserts that all this will in the end serve the good of society. But can one take as a good thing the exploitation of man by man, which will inevitably be resurrected when major private enterprises emerge?

And another question. In Hungary they have stated that it is immoral to maintain loss-making enterprises at the expense of profitable ones, and that is just. But, is the opportunity being given to private individuals to turn into renters, to clip coupons from their capital of dubious origin, in line with the norms of morality? How moral can one consider the concept of distribution according to invested capital? And finally, a not unimportant question: Who, which strata of society in Hungary, possess this capital? [passage omitted] [end recording] [passage omitted]

West Europe

Assassination Attempt on Turkish Prime Minister

LD1806113588 Moscow TASS in English 1116 GMT 18 Jun 88

[Text] Ankara June 18 TASS—The ANATOLIA News Agency has announced that an assassination attempt was made against Turgut Ozal, leader of the ruling Anavatan (Motherland) Party, prime minister of Turkey, at the party's conference today.

An unidentified gunner opened fire on the prime minister when the latter was addressing those present. Turgut Ozal was not hurt, but there are wounded among those present at the conference.

Security service personnel apprehended the attacker. An investigation has been started.

Paper Analyzes French Parliamentary Poll

PM1706125188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Jun 88 Morning Edition pp 1,4

[Own correspondent Yu. Kovalenko report: "France: Election Results"]

[Text] Paris—Elections to the National Assembly, which took place in two rounds under the majority system, have ended in France.

According to preliminary information the Socialist Party [PS] has, together with the Left Radical Movement, won 276 seats, the Rally and Center Union—made up of the rightist parties Rally for the Republic (RPR) and Union for French Democracy (UDF)—won 271 seats, and the extreme right wing "National Front" won 1 seat. Thirty percent of the electorate did not vote during the second round, while during the first round it was a record number of 34.5 percent.

These are the figures. But what do they mean? What changes have taken place in the country's political climate?

First and foremost, the rightist parties have lost the absolute majority they had in the previous composition of the National Assembly. At the same time, contrary to expectations, the Socialists did not win it either. True, they have increased the number of their seats in parliament by some 60, but they had been hoping for a total victory.

Special mention must be made of the success achieved by the Communists. Despite the fact that the number of their deputies was reduced from 35 to 27 (under a proportional system the PCF would have won some 65 seats), the Communists achieved a considerable step forward in comparison with the presidential elections. Observers describe the result achieved by the Communists as one of the main events of the elections.

The bloc of rightist parties succeeded in reducing their losses to a minimum and preventing a more pronounced PS success to some extent thanks to their alliance with the extreme right wing, especially in the Bouches-du-Rhone Department where the "National Front" occupies very strong positions. In many constituencies the voters who voted for the extreme right wing in the first round gave their vote to the rightist leaders in the second round to prevent a victory by the left. The "National Front" won only one seat in the National Assembly, and its leader, J.-M. Le Pen, sustained a crushing defeat. However, the main point does not lie in the number of the parliamentary seats won by the extreme right but in the fact that the rightists entered into a dangerous deal with Le Pen's mob.

In alliance with whom will the Socialists govern the country? Will Michel Rocard, appointed only a month ago, remain prime minister? Will there be substantial changes in the government? A rather complex situation has taken shape—for the first time in the 30-year history of the Fifth Republic not one party has an absolute majority in the National Assembly. The Communists have declared that they will not join the government, nor will they be in permanent opposition. They are proposing a new policy based on uniting all left-wing forces and have declared that they will support those measures of the authorities which are in the interests of the working people. As for the centrists, with whom F. Mitterrand would like to form an alliance, they—judging by appearances—intend to form an independent group in the National Assembly. It is to be headed by ex-prime minister Raymond Barre, who recently aspired to the post of head of state. He does not rule out cooperation with the socialists and would even be prepared under "certain conditions" to head the government. At the same time the role of the leader of the moderate centrist forces is also being contested by former President V. Giscard d'Estaing, who would also like to transform the center right into a partner of the socialists. A month ago prominent centrist leaders declined a proposal that they join the government. At that time they did not want to fall out with their UDF partners in the coalition. Will they do so under the present circumstances? It is possible. It is no accident that, immediately after the announcement of the election results, J. Lecanuet, president of the UDF, expressed himself in favor of the establishment of a government of "national unity," in other words, a government involving socialists and centrists.

The loss of their majority in the National Assembly and an intensification of separatist tendencies will, it seems, result in a regrouping of rightist forces and the formation of new alliances. The former ministers E. Balladur and F. Leotard are favoring the creation of a large conservative party that would comprise the RPR and the Republican Party which is now part of the UDF.

One of the most important lessons of the elections just held lies in the fact that more than half the voters either did not vote at all or voted against the PS and the rightist parties which have held power over the past 10 years. This indicates that more than half the French citizens do not believe that the problems facing the country can be resolved.

Whereas in 1981, when F. Mitterrand became president, and subsequently, when the Socialists won a majority in the National Assembly, the French hoped for changes for the better, now—and this is being specially noted by authoritative observers—they are in their majority wanting no change and are merely afraid that their situation might deteriorate.

The long series of elections, of which the French have had enough, is finally over. F. Mitterrand has been elected for a period of 7 years, and the National Assembly for 5 years. However, after an uncomfortable 2 years of cohabitation between a socialist president and a rightist government, the country may again expect uncertainty, and possibly even a lack of stability fraught with negative consequences. Since the Socialists do not have an absolute majority, F. Mitterrand will have to look around for allies, secure the support of other political forces, most probably the centrists, and enter into compromises. This will inevitably limit his freedom of action and compel the president and the government to introduce changes in their policy.

Briefs

Aeroflot-Swissair Agreement

A delegation from Aeroflot, headed by Volkov, USSR minister of civil aviation, has been staying in Switzerland. The visit has just ended. Bilateral cooperation is now receiving a firm impetus. It can be said that a new stage is opening up for it. The Soviet minister and Adolph Ogi, head of the Federal Department of Transport and Energy of Switzerland, signed a protocol between the governments of our two countries that is in addition to the agreement of 1967. In accordance with the document, Swissair becomes the ninth foreign airline to receive the right to flights to points in the Far East over the shortest route across Siberia. [Excerpts] [*LD1906033788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 18 Jun 88*]

Cooperation With Sweden

A meeting of the working group of the Soviet-Swedish intergovernmental commission on economic and scientific-technical cooperation took place in Stockholm. A document was signed which envisages cooperation in the sphere of the construction of rural housing and the manufacture of building components. Swedish equipment will be used in Soviet systems for cleansing effluents, and Swedish firms will receive the opportunity to participate in the construction of industrial and civil projects. [Summary] [*LD1906032588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0230 GMT 18 Jun 88*]

Latin America & Caribbean

Tension, Armed Clashes Reported in Haiti

LD2006060388 Moscow TASS in English 0558 GMT 20 Jun 88

[Text] London June 20 TASS—Tensions continue running high in Haiti as a result of armed clashes between the supporters of the country's President Leslie Manigat and General Henri Namphy, former commander-in-chief of Haiti's Armed Forces, who was dismissed from his office last Friday.

On Sunday night there were numerous shoot-outs in the area of the presidential palace. The inhabitants of Port au Prince, the country's capital, have been ordered to stay at home and not to go out into the street, the REUTER agency says.

According to reports reaching here, Namphy left his home, where he was under house arrest and took the command of the army units opposing Manigat. According to reports of news agencies, these units captured in fighting the presidential palace and arrested the president on Sunday night. He is currently kept under heavy guard in his residence.

General Stages Coup

LD2006082388 Moscow TASS in English 0645 GMT 20 Jun 88

[Text] New York June 20 TASS—According to reports of news agencies from the Haitian capital, General Henri Namphy, the former commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces of this Caribbean country, made a coup. The presidential palace was seized by the military and Haitian President Leslie Manigat was arrested. At present he stays in his residence.

The coup was made three days after the president's decision to sack several high-ranking army officers, including General Namphy.

The FRANCE PRESS AGENCY reports that Namphy spoke over national television. In a broadcast from the presidential palace the general, in a helmet and a submachine-gun in hand, called on the pople "to believe him and the armed forces".

The agency also points out that Manigat with whom an AFP correspondent managed to speak on telephone, said that he did not intend to resign his commission of the Haitian president.

U.S. Seeks Armed Escalation in Nicaragua

LD2006083788 Moscow TASS in English 0643 GMT 20 Jun 88

[Text] Managua June 20 TASS—While the Nicaraguan Government is making tireless efforts in the search of ways for a peaceful settlement, the U.S. Administration continues banking on an escalation of armed aggression against the Republic, the press conference held here on Sunday was told by President Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua.

Pressing ahead for the appropriation of millions of dollars in "aid" to the mercenary contra units, Washington is thus protracting a peaceful settlement of the conflict, which does irreparable damage to the Nicaraguan people and the country's economy, he said. Any funding of the counter-revolutionary gangs by the U.S. Congress going beyond the framework of the Sapoa accords are in conflict with the Guatemalan agreements and unacceptable to the Nicaraguan Government. Despite the wish of the USA to frustrate the political dialogue between the government and counter-revolution, the Sandinist government will carry on the search of ways for a political settlement, the president emphasized.

The Nicaraguan leader also said that Defense Minister Humberto Ortega had addressed to Alfredo Cesar, one of the leaders of the "Nicaraguan Democratic Resistance", the government's proposals for a resumption in Managua on June 26-29 of the dialogue on reaching full ceasefire, which was broken off by the contras. The main item on the agenda should be the discussion of the government's time-table for reaching peace and ending bloodshed, on most of whose points understanding has already been reached. The Nicaraguan Government has conscientiously taken that step while the directorate of the so-called Nicaraguan Democratic Resistance is trying to convince the world community of the failure of the talks. We urge the contra leaders to abide by the commitments made by them in Sapoa, in particular for the release of the Nicaraguan citizens and carry on the dialogue for putting an end to the fratricidal war in Nicaragua. The decision of the Republic is another graphic proof of the government's interest in lasting peace, Daniel Ortega noted. He declared for the holding of a meeting of the presidents of the Central American countries to appraise the fulfilment of the agreements signed in Guatemala for a search of ways for establishing durable peace in the region.

Political & Social

Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Session Opens

NC2006075488 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0505 GMT 17 Jun 88

[Seventh Session of the 11th Convocation of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet in Baku—live]

[Text] [Unidentified speaker] Dear Deputy Comrades: I declare the 7th Session of the 11th Convocation of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet open. Dear Deputy Comrades: The following deputies have passed away since the 6th session of the 11th convocation: [name indistinct], Mamed Oglu, [name indistinct], Mutalibov, [words indistinct].

Dear Comrades: [Words indistinct] the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has proposed that the following be debated during this session:

1. The [word indistinct] of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet International Relations and Training Permanent Commission;

2. The dangers of [words indistinct] in efforts to upgrade the pace of [word indistinct], social, and cultural development, in compliance with the demands of reconstruction;

3. The call by the deputies of the Nagorno-Karabakh Soviet of People's Deputies for the transfer of jurisdiction of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast from the Azerbaijan SSR to the Armenian SSR;

4. The debate of the Azerbaijan SSR's draft bill on the discussion of the [word indistinct] important problems of the state by the people; and

5. The approval of the decrees issued by the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The Council of Elders of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet approved the inclusion of (?these matters) on the agenda of the session [words indistinct].

Deputy Comrades: We shall continue the debate on the items of the agenda. Deputy Comrade Seidov will (?address the session) on the tasks of the [words indistinct] soviets vis-a-vis the [words indistinct] regarding the demands of reconstruction.

[Seidov] Deputy Comrades: The convocation of the Republic's Supreme Soviet [words indistinct] the 19th all-union party conference [words indistinct].

Branches in the machine production, light industry, local industry, and other industrial sectors are being broadened to provide better job opportunities for the people in rural areas and to further reduce the number of offenses against the people. Distribution of jobs in rural areas has increased.

Nevertheless, looking at the work carried out from the point of view of the contemporary demands of the party will reveal that all this is an initial step in reconstruction. We must be very demanding. We must also acknowledge that little has been done for the social and economic development of the rural regions thus far. The republic's central organizations, the state agro-industrial complex, and a number of ministries and chief administrations that are directly concerned with the problem being discussed share responsibility for this.

Accelerating the pace of socialist reconstruction in rural regions requires a new approach to the neglected problem and a complete restructuring of the activities of the soviets of peoples deputies and the economic organs. Today's most important task is to learn how to work with more initiative under the new conditions, upgrade the pace of social development through [words indistinct] resources, and (?effectively) resolve existing problems.

Comrades, the question of housing is again the most serious problem in rural regions. The number of families awaiting residential buildings in rural regions exceeded 25,000 at the beginning of the year. Furthermore, more than 45,000 applications have been submitted for the allocation of plots for the construction of individual housing facilities. This figure is increasing. It is no coincidence that families in rural regions are very [word indistinct] and strongly attached to the land by tradition.

Calculations indicate that in order to achieve the party's objective—to provide each and every family with residential quarters or individual housing facilities—we must take into consideration the increasing population in the countryside and construct residential buildings for approximately 200,000 families. In other words, we must build 24.7 million cubic meters of residential space in 15 years. This figure is 3.2 times higher than that achieved during the past three 5-year plan periods.

Those who were on the (?waiting lists) on 1 January 1986 must be the first to be provided with housing facilities by the end of 1991. According to the 1986 plan, the pace of the construction of large housing facilities must be doubled during the current 5-year plan period. A total of 5.3 million cubic meters of residential quarters must be constructed. We have begun to put this program into effect. The task has been overfulfilled during the past 2 years and 5 months, and according to calculations 3.2 million cubic meters of housing facilities have been constructed. Two-thirds of this figure is made up of individual construction.

As is true everywhere, all required help is given in our republic to the construction of houses. Unnecessary obstacles have been removed. Loans are made available, and the process of allocating housing plots has been simplified. A total of 29,000 housing plots were made available for individual houses in 1987 [words indistinct]. The supply of construction materials to the peole has been doubled [words indistinct].

For example, Comrade Kasumov is the head of Apsheronskiy Rayon. Let us consider the following: A total of 17,000 cubic meters of housing facilities were made available within the framework of the housing plan in 2 years. The conditions required by those who construct individual houses are not being created, and the allocation of housing plots takes time. Meanwhile, the plans drawn up for the commissioning of housing facilities in Tauz, [name indistinct], and (?Kakh) Rayons have been disrupted. The ispolkoms in Shamkhorskiy, Derebeyli, (?Murdashi), and a number of other rayons have not been sufficiently active in allocating plots for the citizens.

This does not apply only to the local soviets. It also applies to the republic's State Committee for the Agro-Industrial Complex. Obviously, we cannot say that public lands are being distributed. Each and every application for the allocation of plots should be carefully considered, and each and every case should be resolved.

Regrettably, many of the residential areas in rural regions are in a poor state. More than half of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes do not have main plans for the construction of social installations. For example, none of the residential areas in (?Kelpederskiy) Rayon has main plans. Only four residential areas in [name indistinct] Rayon and 80 (?residential areas) in Aghdash Rayon have been provided with main plans.

The State Committee for Construction, the State Committee for the Agro-Industrial Complex, and the local soviet and economic organs must increase the role of construction in the countryside and act in a more principled way in resolving the problems concerning construction and improvement in the residential areas of rural regions.

[Word indistinct] organizations have responsible tasks to perform in the effort to upgrade the pace of constructing housing facilities. Regrettably, the work many of them carry out in constructing housing facilities is unsatisfactory. Comrade Gasanov, (?chairman) of the Agro-Industrial Construction Union, has allowed his work to deteriorate. The pace of his work has been decreasing, not increasing. Comrade Gadzhiyev, (?chairman) of the Azerbaijan SSR Main Administration for Land Reclamation, and Comrade Mayorov, minister of housing and municipal services, have failed to secure a steady increase in the construction of large housing facilities by [word indistinct] organizations.

The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and the Republic's Council of Ministers have seriously discussed the question of further improving the material bases of the construction organizations. Concrete measures have been drawn up to remove backwardness in that area. For example, plans have been made to construct large-panelled [iri panelli] factories and to increase their volume to 210,000 cubic meters by 1990. Plans have also been made to increase the volume of large-blocked [iri bloklu] construction to 80,000 cubic meters. Meanwhile, the production of other materials must be tripled, non-iron materials quadrupled, and [word indistinct] materials increased by 2 and 1/2.

The Republic's Council of Ministers has adopted a decision providing for the construction of 32 factories which will produce 74 million bricks annually to improve the production of local construction materials. Plans have been made to build a number of factories in various rayons for the production of [words indistinct] and other materials. Comrade Sadykov, minister of the construction materials industry, and [name indistinct], minister of local industry, are responsible for the realization of this task. All this will contribute to the effort to meet fully the people's need for construction materials and upgrade the pace in constructing large housing facilities.

The strengthening and protection of the health of the rural workers is the most important aspect of the party's social and economic policy. Much work is being done to consolidate the material and technical bases of the health services. However, it must be clearly noted that clinical and polyclinical services to the people in rural regions are (?unsatisfactory). The weight of insufficient health services in the rural regions is felt significantly.

One of every five rural rayons lacks a maternity hospital. Likewise, one of every three rayons has no pediatrics hospital. Distribution of beds to hospitals in Shamakhi, Sadyrabad, [name indistinct], Apsheronskiy, and many other rayons is not satisfactory, mainly due to the failure of the local soviet and economic organs to attach the required importance to the matter. For this reason many of the clinics and polyclinics in the countryside are housed in bad and inappropriate buildings. The poor [words indistinct] of many of the medical examination centers and doctors in rural regions have caused justified complaints from the people.

Improving the protection of the health of mothers and children is a serious need [words indistinct]. The situation of the maternity hospitals, supply of equipment to them, and the standard of the medical services available do not meet contemporary demands. In short, there is a need for radical restructuring of health services in the countryside. Health Minister Kasumov, all the [word indistinct] construction organizations, the rayon ispolkoms, and the local economic organs must quickly implement radical changes in their work in that regard. Particular attention must be focused on the need to consolidate the bases of health services in the countryside.

Measures are being taken in that regard now. The 12th 5-Year Plan contains provisions for the construction of 3,300 hospitals and polyclinics [words indistinct] in the countryside. However, the fact that the Ministry of Construction has not used more than R1 million from the main funds, and the State Committee for the Agro-Industrial Complex has failed to utilize about R560,000 within a 1-year period has created concern. None of the construction plans of nine hospitals has been realized during the current year [words indistinct].

This is not the way to approach the question of upgrading health services in the countryside. The main duty of the leading officials of the establishments and the soviets of people's deputies executive committee in rayon centers and rural regions is to control the construction of all the installations. The [word indistinct] organizations affiliated with the Ministry of Construction, the agro-industrial and technical workers union, and organizations such as the Ministry of Health and the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers Main Administration for Construction, which place orders for the construction of installations, must take the measures required for the construction of health facilities in accordance with time schedules.

Comrades: Children have been provided with very few preschool educational installations in the republic. Many of the kindergartens and nurseries in rayon centers and rural areas are housed in old buildings that do not comply with the demands of the [word indistinct]. The number of [words indistinct], which [words indistinct] in Aksu, [name indistinct], and other rayons is not high. Improvement of the situation of kindergartens made available to kolkhoz workers is unsatisfactory.

The 12th 5-Year Plan period provides for the opening of [word indistinct] in rural areas. However, calculations indicate that this is not enough to meet the people's need for preschool installations in order to be able to comply with the recommendation of the 27th CPSU Congress by the end of the current 5-year plan period. In view of this, the USSR Council of Ministers has adopted a decision that puts forward new tasks in that regard [words indistinct].

The main administration for land reclamation and the administration for the construction of power installations have failed to fulfill their plans. The agro-industrial construction union has reduced the momentum of its work. Regrettably, the State Committee for [word indistinct], the State Committee for the Agro-Industrial Complex, and the local soviet and economic organs have failed to focus required attention on this problem [words indistinct]. Resolving the problem of kindergartens throughout the republic is a (?task) that cannot be delayed.

Dear Comrades: Constant attention must be focused on the question of implementing reforms in general educational and vocational training schools by the local ispolkoms and the popular education organs. Tasks in that field were established by the February 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. Consolidating the material and technical bases of the general educational and vocational training schools is the main goal of our work. However, Minister of Education Ragimov and the popular education (?organs) have not been attaching satisfactory importance to the question of improving the bases of rural schools. The schools in a number of rayons are not in good condition. Many are housed in buildings that do not meet standard demands. Nor is the number of recommednations made for creating the required conditions for the selection and appointment of the cadres and for keeping highly qualified teachers in the rural regions satisfactory.

All this is having a negative effect on preparations by the students [words indistinct].

Plans for opening schools in rural regions during the past 2 years and 5 months have been fulfilled. However, the question of insufficient schools in the countryside is still a serious problem. The number of students who attend second courses is falling gradually. Opportunities in the kolkhozes have not been exploited satisfactority. Plans were made to open [word indistinct] 2,000 schools on the basis of the funds they would provide. However, only 13 percent of the funds allocated for that purpose has been used. This has occurred when many schools in [words indistinct] are housed in inappropriate and damaged buildings.

The construction of large schools that will be supplied with modern (?material) and equipment must be the main goal of improving the educational system in rural schools.

Rayon cultural centers, clubs, sports installations, and libraries have an important role in the cultural and aesthetic training of the rural workers and in the effort to help the workers have [words indistinct] in their spare time. More attention has been focused in the past few years on the question of broadening the network of clubs and sports installations with a view to using them more productively. A total of 56 rayon and rural cultural centers and clubs have been opened as a result of the measures taken during the past 2 years.

Nevertheless, satisfactory progress has not been achieved in the work of cultural and educational establishments in the rayons. Formalism, imitation, and organizational triviality continue to exist on a large scale. Their activity consists primarily of screening movies. The work required for needed active help is not being observed. In addition to the local soviet and economic organs, Minister of Culture Bagirov is also responsible for all the existing shortcomings. The ministry's guidance to the rural clubs is poor. Nor has it attached required importance to the [words indistinct]. Comrade Mamedov must put forward valid reasons for the poor state of physical training [words indistinct].

The question of supplying water to the people in rural regions is of particular (?importance). More than 3,000 towns do not have water pipes [words indistinct]. Approximately [word indistinct] people acquire their water from open sources. Considering this situation, the republic's Council of Ministers discussed the problem in October 1985. [Words indistinct] a main plan for improving the supply of water was drawn up and approved [words indistinct]. A network of water pipelines which will supply water to Nagorno-Karabakh, Kirovabad, Kazakh, Salyany, Astara, Sheki, and Zakatali will be put into service [words indistinct]. The number of residential areas in rural regions that will receive water through centralized water supply networks will be increased to 47 percent by 1990. Meanwhile, plans have been made to supply water to another 900 rural settlements [words indistinct].

For example, matters related to the question of water supply to the people in Zakatali, Balakhany, Sadyrabad, and other rayons [words indistinct]. Nevertheless, there are examples that contradict this. Mamedov, head of Pushkino Rayon, has been able to provide only 3 of its 22 towns with centralized water supply installations. Mekhtiyev, head of the Dzhalal-Abad Rayon, has been able to provide only 7 of the 118 towns in that rayon with water pipes. The state of water supply in Khanlar and Kuba Rayons is very poor. Regardless of the fact that water supply in Agdzhabedi, Kasum-Ismailov, (?Birbeshir), and Yevlakh Rayons is no more than 15 percent of that required, the significant opportunities created by the artesian wells are not being utilized at all. The opportunities available in the sovkhozes, kolkhozes, and [word indistinct] have not been used to improve water supply to residential areas [words indistinct].

The soviets in rayons and towns must mobilize their [words indistinct] and use all reserve resources to deal with (?existing problems) [words indistinct].

The 12th 5-Year Plan period calls for the fulfillment of the plan for supplying natural gas to 56 percent of all towns. Gas pipeline systems have been put into service to supply gas to Satly, Imishly, [words indistinct] rayons during the past 2 years [words indistinct]. As a result, more than 10 rayons will be supplied with natural gas. However, the pace in resolving this problem does not comply with contemporary demands. The task of supplying gas to [word indistinct] houses has been systematically disrupted by the State Committee for Gas Supply, which is headed by Vekilov. The situation of the laying of gas pipelines in (?Koychai), Udzhar, Zardob, Kasum-Ismailov, and (?Shamian) by the State Committee for Gas Supply and the Azerbaijan SSR Pipelines Construction Trust, which is headed by (?Yigidov), has created serious concern. Deficiencies exist in the plans drawn up by the State Planning Committee and the State Committee for Construction for the laying of gas pipelines.

Officials of the State Committee for Gas Supply, the Azerbaijan SSR Pipelines Construction Union, and the Azerbaijan SSR Administration for Transportation must work with the rayon organizations to remove backwardness in work and take prompt measures to realize the tasks of the 3d year of the 12th 5-Year Plan period, expedite the construction of [word indistinct] networks, and use the gas pipelines that have been put into service to capacity level. The State Committee for Gas Supply and the State Committee for Construction must play a more active role in the effort to supply gas to (?Dzhabrail) Rayon.

Comrades: A certain amount of work has been carried out to supply electricity to rural regions during the past few years [words indistinct].

Regardless of efforts to improve transportation facilities for the rural people during the past few years, there have been more than a few complaints about irregular bus service and the poor quality of available services. Minister of Motor Transport Rustamov must create necessary conditions in that sector.

Serious shortcomings exist in the work in rural regions by the Ministry of Communications, headed by Akhundov. Communication facilities do not exist in the production domains of more than one-fourth of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Only 4 percent of the work needed to increase the number of telephones has been fulfilled in 2 years. The decisions adopted by the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's Council of Ministers to improve the bases of communications services are not being realized satisfactorily [words indistinct].

Construction of roads is one of the problems in rural regions which must be resolved quickly. Regardless of the work of the past few years, the situation is serious [words indistinct]. In view of this, the 31st Azerbaijan Communist Party Congrers drew up a wide-ranging plan for the construction of roads during the 12th 5-Year Plan period [words indistinct].

A [words indistinct] construction union has been set up within the framework of the State Committee for the Agro-Industrial Complex. Roads and bridges are being built by the 26 sections of that union in more than 45 rayons. A number of positive results are being achieved this way. A total of 500 km of asphalt roads have been constructed since the beginning of the 5-year plan period. The figure achieved is four times greater than that during the same period in the 11th 5-Year Plan period. Nevertheless, we are not satisfied with the pace of work in construction of roads in rural regions.

Khalafov, minister of highway construction and maintenance, has a special responsibility. Discriminating between [words indistinct] highways and interestablishment roads is impossible. The ministry has completed much work during the past few years. However, there is a question of fulfillment and overfulfillment of the plans drawn up for the construction of roads. The Ministry of Highway Construction and Maintenance and the highway construction organizations affiliated with the State Committee for the Agro-Industrial Complex are capable of realizing this.

The improvement of life in rural regions is linked inseparably with the improvement of trade and [word indistinct] services domain. We must do a great deal to create a basic (?system) of trade. An average of R283 worth of merchandise is available annually to each and every citizen in the countryside. This is 2.4 times below the avarage index in the Soviet Union. This figure is even lower in Yardymly, Pushkino, Kubatly, and other rayons. The [words indistinct] is responsible for this state of backwardness. The amount of commodities sold to the rural people since the beginning of the current 5-year plan period is R325 million less than that sold during the same period in the 11th 5-Year Plan period [words indistinct].

The plans drawn up for the construction of the required installations are not being realized [words indistinct]. Recently we analyzed work by Comrade Aliyev, chairman of the Agdzhabedi Rayon Party Committee. It has become clear that nothing has been done to improve the work of the cooperatives and [word indistinct] in that rayon. Only 3 of the 20 cooperatives established in that rayon are functioning. A similar situation prevails in many of the (?other rayons).

The appointment of (?responsible elements) in the administrative rayons of the republic is very important to the effort to resolve social development problems in the countryside.

Matters related to the question of improving economic and cultural development in regions in which non-local people are in the majority must be carefully included in our plans on a wide scale and realized. Within this context, the realization of the decision adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers in connection with the measures that should be taken to upgrade the pace of social and economic development in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast is of great importance. The adoption of this decision is a new indication of the concern the party and the government have for Azerbaijan SSR. The decision has been assessed in the republic as important from the point of view of principle and as the only correct approach. [Words indistinct] and the leading officials of the ministries and chief administrations must study the problems that emerge and take additional measures to see to it that this decision is realized ahead of schedule.

The central organizations and the local soviet and economic organs must focus significant attention on the effort to realize the program which has been approved in the republic for the social and economic development of the rayons in mountainous areas [words indistinct].

Discusses Nagorno-Karabakh

LD1706165088 Moscow TASS in English 1632 GMT 17 Jun 88

[Text] Baku June 17 TASS—The seventh session of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet today considered matters aimed at accelerating the socio-cultural development of the countryside, and tasks of the republic's Soviets of People's Deputies in the light of requirements of the current restructuring process.

The session also considered an application by the members of the Soviet of People's Deputies of the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region for a transfer of the region from the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic to the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic. The session endorsed the resolution of the Presidium of Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan SSR on unacceptability of a transfer of the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region from the Azerbaijan SSR to the Armenian SSR.

The session holds that the resolution adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the USSR "on measures to accelerate the socio-economic development of the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region of the Azerbaijan SSR in 1988-1995" and measures being taken by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan and the Council of Ministers of the republic create favourable conditions for accelerating the development of productive forces and for meeting the economic and cultural requirements of both Armenian and Azerbaijanian population and of other nationalities of the autonomous region.

A standing commission for inter-ethnic relations and internationalist education was set up at the session.

The deputies endoresed a law of the Azerbaijan SSR "on nationwide discussion of important questions of state life".

IZVESTIYA on Session

PM1806163188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Jun 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Special correspondents A. Sabirov and R. Talyshinskiy report under the rubric "Union Republic Supreme Soviet Sessions": "Azerbaijan SSR"]

[Text] Baku—The last month before the opening of the latest Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet session was marked by an unusual intensity of passions in Baku.

Even when events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh were unfolding there was calm on the streets here, even though people felt constant alarm. This alarm started to increase when for some reason the central and republic newspapers and the other media simultaneously fell silent.

Yet one way or another information did percolate through. It became known that Stepanakert was again in turmoil. There were particularly disturbing stories from those Azerbaijanis who had recently left Armenia. A rally was held in the city. A day later there was another. And then V.I. Lenin Square—the largest in Baku—was continually filled with thousands and thousands of people.

Overemotional voices rang out there. But the main questions asked by the citizens were perfectly reasonable. What specifically is being done to normalize the situation in the autonomous oblast? Is help being given to the people who have recently arrived in Azerbaijan from the neighboring republic? How quickly are the urgent measures outlined by the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government being carried out? How are republic and local party and soviet organs acting under the conditions of expanding democracy? And, finally, the electorate wanted to know why the republic's Supreme Soviet had still not clearly publicly [glasno] stated its attitude to the question posed by the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] of the transfer of jurisdiction over the oblast.

In short, what was required was that the glasnost mechanism "start working." The republic's press and television returned once again to this thorny issue. Numerous meetings at labor collectives and meetings between deputies and voters were held.

On 13 June the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium examined a petition from NKAO soviet of people's deputies to transfer the oblast from the Azerbaijan SSR to the Armenian SSR. A discussion began. Almost all presidium members spoke. The question of the NKAO's transfer, they noted, is not just of local importance, but profoundly concerns the interests and sovereign rights of the Azerbaijan SSR and is directly linked with the interests of the USSR—a united, union, multinational state—and its national-state structure.

Having discussed the oblast soviet of people's deputies' petition in accordance with Article 78 of the USSR Constitution and Article 70 of the Azerbaijan SSR Constitution, under which a republic's territory cannot be changed without its consent, the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Presidium deemed the petition unacceptable. But it decided to put the issue down on the session's agenda.

The session—and at the suggestion of voters it was broadcast live on republic television and radio for the first time—started with an examination of the question of the tasks of the republic's soviets in accelerating the socioeconomic development of the countryside in light of the demands of restructuring. The report delivered by G. Seidov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and the coreport of the plan, budget, and other standing commissions of the Supreme Soviet (delivered by Z. Samed-Zade, chairman of the Plan and Budget Commission) stated that the prevailing demographic situation and the underestimation in the past of the development of the social sphere in the countryside have meant that many acute unresolved problems have accumulated in this area. There is a shortage of well appointed housing. Many schools are housed in makeshift premises, and there are far fewer preschool institutions than on average in the country. The network of roads and trading and municipal service centers is poorly developed.

Deputies M. Ashurov, A. Dzhamalova, B. Aleksenko, and the others who spoke in the debates stressed that the hitherto widespread practice of identifying the countryside with agriculture has led to attempts to resolve all problems in this area primarily from a sectorial standpoint. That is, from the standpoint of individual agricultural enterprises. At the same time, local soviets are not making use of their rights and powers and act very timidly.

Restructuring and the democratization of social life mean breaking with old views and obsolete structures. On this note the session moved on to examine the second question. But, Deputies A. Amanov, E. Grigoryan, and V. Nikitin said, there are guidelines enshrined in the law which cannot be abandoned. These include, in particular, one of the foundations of our state—the existing national-territorial structure.

"The interests of each people," Deputy Dzh. Guliyev stressed, "are best reflected only when the interests of the USSR are observed."

Currently the most important thing of all, deputies said, is to focus on priority tasks—the resolution of social problems and the boosting of the economy—and to provide, as the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th all-union party conference state, all possible support for the revolutionary transformations in the country.

The session unanimously approved the resolution of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium on the results of the discussion. The deputies noted that the resolution "On Measures To Accelerate the Socioeconomic Development of the Azerbaijan SSR's Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast in 1988-1995" adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers and the measures being implemented by the republic's Communist Party Central Committee and Council of Ministers are creating favorable conditions for accelerating the development of productive forces and meeting the economic and spiritual needs both of the Armenian and Azerbaijani populations and of other ethnic groups in the autonomous oblast. It is necessary to pool the efforts of representatives of all ethnic groups in order to carry out this resolution, normalize the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh, and ensure the most favorable living and working conditions for people.

In response to the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet appeal, the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet—proceeding from the interests of maintaining the country's existing national-territorial structure as enshrined in the USSR Constitution and being guided by the principles of internationalism and the interests of the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples, as well as those of the republic's other nations and ethnic groups—deemed the transfer of the NKAO from the Azerbaijan SSR to the Armenian SSR to be impossible. The session stressed that this would not accord with the aims of strengthening friendship among our country's peoples or the tasks of restructuring.

The session discussed and adopted a law "On the Nationwide Discussion of Important Questions of State Life" and a Standing Commission for Interethnic Relations and International Education was set up. Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium directives were ratified.

The session was addressed by A. Vezirov, first secretary of Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee.

Azerbaijan Party Bureau Views NKAO Economy

PM1906104788 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 2 Jun 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the Azerbaijan Communist Party"]

[Text] Attaching great importance to the consistent implementation of the tasks defined by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution "On Measures to Accelerate the Socioeconomic Development of Azerbaijan SSR's Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] in the Period 1988-1995," the Central Committee bureau specially examined the course of the fulfillment of the resolution in question.

Leaders of party, soviet, and economic organs and the republic's mass media took part in the session. A.T. Rasi-Zade, first deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers, delivered a report.

It was pointed out that since the adoption of the aforementioned document ministries and departments have carried out a number of measures to resolve the urgent problems of the autonomous oblast's socioeconomic development.

Work is under way to design an oblast hospital, schools, a printing works, a furniture factory, a mixed feed plant, a reservoir on the river Badarachay, and sewage and water supply systems for Stepanakert and a number of the oblast's rayon centers and population centers. The question of setting up a branch of the "Azgosproyekt" Institute in 1988 in Stepanakert has been resolved.

Work to ensure that the population of Stepanakert and Shushinskiy, and Askeranskiy Rayons receive the Second All-Union Program and Yerevan Television Program has been completed ahead of schedule.

In 1991 an Armenian drama theater will begin work in Baku.

Plans have been coordinated to train cadres for Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast in the period 1988-1990 at Armenian SSR educational establishments. This year 69 young men and women from the autonomous oblast—24 more than envisaged—will be given places on special assignment at 11 Armenian SSR VUZes. There they will be trained in 42 specialties. The number of young people from Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast given places at the country's leading VUZes without taking part in competitive entrance procedures will rise. Questions of the translation and publication in the Armenian language of academic literature have been examined and resolved.

Additional funds and material-technical resources have been earmarked to ensure that work begins this year on the accelerated development of a number of the most important sectors of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast's economy. The republic's State Agro-industrial Committee has embarked on the reconstruction and expansion of agricultural raw-material processing and storage facilities in order to improve supplies of food products for the autonomous oblast's population.

The 1989 targets for the autonomous oblast's economic and social development have been worked over in detail. The program for commissioning schools, preschool establishments, houses of culture, and clubs determined by the resolution will be fully implemented. Questions of the construction of an oblast hospital with 400 beds and a clinic capable of dealing with 600 consultations per shift, a printing works, and a number of housing and municipal services, transport, trade, and consumer services projects have been resolved.

It is planned to begin construction of new production units. Four subsidiaries of enterprises of the electronics and radio engineering industry will be set up next year in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast rayons in order to provide the population with effective employment. There are plans to commission a plant manufacturing ferroconcrete goods, an industrial combine, a mechanization base, and other facilities.

The Central Committee bureau drew the attention of the leaders of the ministries and departments involved in [the implementation of] the resolution in question to the need for prompt examination of the problems that have cropped up and for additional measures to be adopted to ensure the early fulfillment of the tasks of accelerating

Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast's socioeconomic development set by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers. Progress in the fulfillment of the aforementioned resolution will be examined monthly.

Armenian Interior Ministry on 'Hooliganism'

LD1806224188 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 18 Jun 88

[Announcement by Armenian Republic Interior Ministry on 18 June]

[Text] An Armenian Press Agency [ARMENPRES] correspondent has been informed by the republic's Interior Ministry that the situation in the republic as a whole is normal and that proper law and order is being maintained. However, certain irresponsible individuals are trying to incite passions and to arouse indeterminate emotions. These attempts are being thwarted with the active assistance of the population.

On 17 June, however, at about 1200, disturbances and hooligan phenomena were provoked in Masis town and at the Sayat Nova village in Masis Rayon. The windows of a number of houses were shattered and damage was caused to household furnishings. Decisive measures have been taken to establish law and order and to ensure the security of citizens, and antisocial acts have been stopped. There have been no cases of bodily injuries inflicted or other offenses against the life and well-being of citizens. A [word indistinct] group has been formed and is investigating the hooliganism. The culprits will be dealt with in strict compliance with the law. The situation is under control in the rayon.

The circumstances today require a high level of vigilance, personal responsibility, an active attitude by citizens, and intolerance toward any act likely to create tension. It is very important to show civilized and calm behavior and to deliver decisive counterblows to any attempt to provoke disturbances and other antisocial acts. No violation of law, order, and legality must be allowed to go unpunished.

Presidium Chairman Cited

NC2006110388 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 19 Jun 88

[Statement by Grant Voskanyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on 19 June; place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] Respectable Comrades, the situation in Masis Rayon calls for [words indistinct].

As already reported, on 17 June disturbances and hooligan phenomena were provoked in Masis and the village of Sayat Nova. The windows of a number of houses of supporters of the Azerbaijani people were shattered and household furnishings were damaged. The responsible organs took the necessary action to normalize the situation.

However, the situation in the rayon (?was upset) again yesterday evening. A group of irresponsible youths who had gone to Masis from Yerevan were able to incite certain Armenian inhabitants of the region into acts of hooliganism, in which eight Armenians and eight Azerbaijanis were injured. There were no deaths.

The responsible bodies are taking strict and decisive measures to return order and normalize life in the rayon. Investigations are being carried out and the culprits will be severely punished. The rayon's party and soviet bodies are making all efforts to normalize the situation and stop disorderly behavior.

In such conditions, each of us should show self-control and self-restraint. We (?emphasize) that we should not under any condition allow anyone, whoever he may be, to resort to unfit (?remarks) and unwise acts which would spread mistrust in the peoples' friendship. Our two peoples live next to each other and will continue to do so. In view of this, I would like to point out specifically the remarks by Comrade Gorbachev in his appeal to the workers and peoples of Azeerbaijan and Armenia. He said that at this [word indistinct], we should defend our Soviet internationalism and know that only with strong friendship among our peoples can we insure our peoples' progress and the welfare of all citizens. The Armenian people have always proven their role in internationalism, and it is our duty to always defend our people's internationalist gains and the pledge for our national existence and progress.

I appeal to the Armenian and Azerbaijani population in the republic to display self-restraint and healthy judgement. I ask them not to express unnecessary emotions and feelings, and not to listen to those who are spreading interethnic mistrust and (?discord). Our fundamental interests demand that we (?move forward in a timely manner toward the objectives) of the process of democratization, reconstruction, and revolution, and to (?insure in the best way possible) a calm situation. We have so many other tasks to perform and things to do. Their fulfillment requires the efforts of each and every one of us. We should remember the special political [word indistinct] and the realistic approach of the situation by our people. We are all responsible for our people's fate and for the honor of our republic.

Armenian Enterprises Extending Work Hours

LD1906130188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 19 Jun 88

[Text] In Armenia today practically all industrial enterprises are working. The labor collectives' councils have proposed this initiative. This is what the decision of the labor collective of the Yerevan Chemical Constructions trust says: The council of the labor collective considers it necessary to extend work days until 1900 and to work through all Saturdays until the end of the month, and for certain installations to work also on Sundays to make up for the lagging behind that occurred during the period 13-15 June.

Amenian Delegates to Party Conference Selected

PM1906095588 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 1 Jun 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Information Report on Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] A plenun of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee took place 31 May.

The plenum examined the question "On the Election of Delegates to the 19th All-Union Party Conference From the Armenian Communist Party."

The plenum held a businesslike discussion of the candidacies submitted. It was noted that primary party organizations and labor collectives nominated candidates for delegates in an atmosphere of principledness and frank exchange of opinions. More than 1,000 candidacies were discussed. The party committees presented their proposals to the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee following a comprehensive examiniation of the candidacies submitted.

At the same time, as was noted at the Central Committee plenum, that there were instances of formalism and state management when candidate delegates were nominated.

In accordance with the results of the closed (secret) ballot, 51 delegates were elected for the 19th party conference. By and large the delegates elected reflect the social makeup of the republic's party organization. Almost one-third work in industry, construction, transport, and communications. Scientific, cultural, and educational personnel are broadly represented.

The plenum expressed the confidence that the emissaries of Armenia's Communists will represent the republic's party organization in a worthy fashion at the upcoming 19th all-union party conference.

S.G. Artyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, spoke at the plenum.

The following took part in the work of the plenum: V.A. Shamshin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR minister of communications; A.Yu. Ishlinskiy, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Problems of Mechanics Institute and chairman of the board of the Union of Scientific and Engineering Societies; and V.Ya. Gerasimenko, senior worker at the CPSU Central Committee.

Sumgait Families Seek Houses in Armenia

LD1906141888 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 0800 GMT 19 Jun 88

[Excerpts] As we have stated in a previous report, some 702 families or 2,790 citizens have come to our republic from Sumgait. [passage omitted] Of these, 15 families are now working on the documents for the exchange of their private houses in Sumgait with public housing and private houses of Azerbaijanis who have expressed the wish to leave Masis Rayon for Azerbaijan. [passage omitted]

Nagorno-Karabakh Local TV Center Begins Work

LD2006074788 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 2 Jun 88 p 2

[AZERINFORM report: "Stepanakert Speaks and Shows"]

[Text] Stepanakert—A logo depicting the sculptural composition adorning the enrtrance to Stepanakert today appeared on television screens in the Azerbaijan SSR's Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. The oblast television center began its work here.

"We were given practical help in perparing the television center for work by specialists from many of the country's cities," G. Sogomonyan, chairman of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, said. "Oblast television programs will be broadcast in Armenian on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. Their duration will total 3 and 1/2 hours weekly overall. The volume of broadcasts will rise in the future. Karabakh television journalists will, from the outset, be combating the factors which are slowing down our forward advance and will make their contribution to people's internationalist education. We hope that a broad range of genres and methods and the use of the wealth of experience of the country's leading television studios will enable us to fully meet the demands of the viewers."

It is planned to expand the network of relay stations in future, which will make it possible for all the autonomous oblast's population centers to receive the local television program.

Developments in Nagorno-Karabakh Reported

PM1806131188 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jun 88 p 4

[Own correspondent A. Mursaliyev report: "Maintaining Unity"]

[Text] Baku—Over the past 4 months people in Baku have gotten used to rallies and demonstrations. But the one held in V.I. Lenin Square the other day was not like the others. For the first time not only since the events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh started, but probably for many a long year, the working people of Baku marched out into the square with the slogans: "We Support the Party's Leninist Nationalities Policy" and "Let Us Rally More Closely Around the Party." The overwhelming majority of the rally participants demanded that the strikes, disturbances, and unauthorized rallies and demonstrations in Baku, Stepanakert, and Yerevan be ended, that the provocateurs setting peoples against one another be stopped and condemned, and that the most resolute measures be taken to normalize the situation in the region. The rally was addressed by A.Kh. Vezirov, first secretary of Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, who frankly and honestly told those present about the difficulties of the period they are experiencing, the resistance from antirestructuring forces, the measures being taken to normalize the situation in the republic, the difficult social, ecological, and cadre problems inherited from the past that are now facing the republic, and how the republic leadership plans to resolve them together with the working people.

But the rally was preceded by others triggered by the new exacerbation of the situation in the republic. It so happened that they coincided with the spring flood. Somewhere in the upper reaches of rivers high in the mountains there was torrential rain that sharply raised the water level in the Kur and Araks Rivers. Dams burst in some places and many villages and fields were flooded. At virtually the same time a new wave of Azerbaijani nationals flooded into the republic from Armenia.

Was it just threats by certain hostile people that forced them to leave their homes and villages at the height of field work?

"There are around 80 families in our village, all Azerbaijanis," Beytulla Mamedov, an inhabitant of Vardogoved Village, Yekhegnadzorskiy Rayon, said. "And it is not far from the rayon center. But we are not on a bus route. The medical center was closed several years ago. The young people have no work."

Since the change of leadership in both republics and the first measures aimed at improving the situation, people have had some hopes. There have been regular newspaper reports about the fulfillment of the decisions of resolutions on Nagorno-Karabakh. However, some people found this normalization disadvantageous. And the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast deteriorated once again, enterprises stopped work, and rallies and processions began in Stepanakert and the autonomous oblast's rayon centers. Moreover, some people began artificially exacerbating the situation—groups of people tried to picket food industry enterprises and food stores, and freight cars of food were not unloaded. More was to come. Students of Azerbaijani nationality were not admitted to state examinations in Stepanakert, and conditions were created Armenians living in Shusha in which they could not work.

In this volatile situation people find it hard to keep their emotions in check. Provocateurs lost no time in exploiting this. They incited those attending a Baku rally to take extreme actions and shouted inflammatory slogans. They included, it later transpired, people from various ethnic groups. Unfortunately, they managed to provoke a number of incidents. At the rally of Baku working people A.Kh. Vezirov, first secretary of Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, stressed that "antirestructuring forces are trying to compromise the policy of democratization and glasnost and exacerbate interethnic relations still further. We know that certain individuals have even done just what the provocateurs wanted and put forward overtly nationalist slogans." The rally condemned the provocative sallies and actions of extremist forces aimed at exacerbating the situation in the region.

"I believe that any attempt to undermine our unity must be rebuffed, and that legal proceedings should be instituted against specific instigators," K. Miraliyev, a rally participant and foreman at the "Azizbekovneft" Oil and Gas Extraction Administration, said.

The other day a session of the Nagorno-Karabakh Azerbaijan Communist Party Obkom Bureau was held which made a scathing party assessment of the situation prevailing in the autonomous oblast and deemed it necessary to put a stop to illegal actions; should leaders be reluctant to do so, party proceedings should be instituted against them, up to and including expulsion from the CPSU. Particular attention was devoted to the impermissibility of manifestations of nationalism.

It must be candidly admitted that the current situation in the republic is tense. Time will pass and everything will fall into place. The organizers and provocateurs—those who brought matters in the region to the point of an extreme, critical situation—will be named. But even today, if we ask ourselves Lenin's question "Who stands to gain by it?" we can say with confidence that it is the antirestructuring clans, the forces of stagnant bureaucracy, and the black economy dealers who have now joined forces with criminal elements in a united front against a renewal which will prove fatal for them.

Yaroslavl Plenum Withdraws Conference Delegate

PM1706164488 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
18 Jun 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondent M. Ovcharov report: "Removed From the List of Delegates: How Yaroslavl CPSU Obkom Plenum Adopted an Unusual Decision"]

[Text] Yaroslavl—A CPSU obkom plenum was held in Yaroslavl 16 June with the agenda: "On letters and appeals from party organizations and working people of the oblast to the CPSU obkom and the mass media in connection with the election of F.I. Loshchenkov as delegate to the 19th all-union party conference." The plenum, which lasted just over 5 hours, was unusual. There were no standing orders. There was no list of speakers prepared beforehand, and anyone could mount the platform or go up to the roving microphone and express his viewpoint. And opinions, incidentally, were sometimes diametrically opposed.

Here is a brief account of the plenum:

I. Tolstoukhov, first secretary of the CPSU obkom: "After the election on 21 May at the previous obkom plenum of Comrade F. Loshchenkov, former obkom first secretary and now chairman of the USSR State Committee for Material Reserves, as a party conference delegate, the obkom and gorkom, newspapers, radio, and televison began to receive letters, complaints, and resolutions of party meetings expressing disagreement with the election of this candidate and a demand that the obkom's decision be reviewed."

Question from the auditorium: "What is Comrade Loshchenkov personally accused of?"

I. Tolstoukhov: "Personally, nothing. But at the same time virtually all the resolutions from meetings, letters, and appeals complain that while F. Loshchenkov was obkom first secretary serious shortcomings occurred in agriculture and the development of the social sphere. There were many errors in cadre policy. The command-and-administer style of leadership flourished. Therefore people associated Comrade Loshchenkov's name directly with the years of stagnation. We must reckon with the opinions of the majority of the oblast's party organizations and working people. After all, it is a question of the prestige of the party obkom and the entire oblast party organization."

F. Loshchenkov: "I did not seek or solicit election as a delegate. But I accepted it with gratitude. Can I have changed and become an object of loathing? What happened was something different: A mass, well organized, well coordinated campaign to indoctrinate public opinion against my candidacy began. Press articles, the holding of a rally, the collection of signatures, the spreading of all kinds of rumors—none of that was accidental. The organized persecution of me as a man, as a worker, began. Unsubstantiated accusations, not backed up by arguments, began to appear, accusing me of all the mortal sins—such as that I ruined agriculture, led the oblast to the brink, and so on and so forth. Yet objective statistics exist. And the most objective indicator is the award of orders of the Soviet Union to Yaroslavl and Andropov cities and 50 labor collectives. I categorically deny the charges. I worked honestly and conscientiously, sparing no effort or energy. I am convinced that justice will triumph."

A. Ignatchenko, first secretary of Yaroslavl's Kirovskiy CPSU Raykom: "At the last plenum, on 21 May, I voted for F. Loshchenkov. But that was my personal viewpoint. However, subsequent events and the course of party meetings showed that neither the obkom, nor the gorkom, nor our raykom knew the real situation. Why not? There is not enough glasnost, we are bad at consulting with people. Today this error must be rectified, taking into account the opinion of the people, who do not agree with Comrade Loshchenkov's election as a delegate."

N. Zhukova, secretary of the party committee on "Malinovets" Sovkhoz, Rybinskiy Rayon: "An honored man has been held up to shame before the whole country. In my view the librarian Malygina, who wrote a letter to PRAVDA about Fedor Ivanovich, is an enemy of restructuring."

A. Razzhivin, chief of the USSR KGB Administration for Yaroslavl Oblast: "On the threshold of the party conference, the broadest masses, to whom restructuring is precious, express their active civic stance. The people are not indifferent to the question of who will be at the conference. For that reason, a protest sprang up against the election of F. Loshchenkov as delegate. And here the broad masses displayed high political awareness and warm support for restructuring. Restructuring is under way, but you, Fedor Ivanovich, are still the same. People have denied you their trust. I voted against you at the last plenum and I will vote against you today."

V. Chayenkov, chairman of the oblast council of veterans: "Today in his speech Fedor Ivanovich showed that he still adheres to a position of stagnation. Comrade Loshchenkov says that persecution of him has supposedly been organized. I declare: That is not so. People are not talking about Fedor Ivanovich as an individual. But the veterans say bitterly that he left behind him a neglected social program. For instance, 2,000 war invalids and families of those killed in the war are waiting for apartments in the oblast.... Unless the party obkom draws conclusions from all this today, it will be left behind in restructuring. I propose that Comrade Loshchenkov be deprived of his mandate as a conference delegate."

A. Bystrov, chairman of the CPSU obkom Party Control Commission: "I consider it an error that Comrade Loshchenkov's candidacy was discussed only at the obkom plenum, bypassing the party organizations of enterprises and organizations. Yet everyone is equal before the party. These errors must be rectified. The people at the conference should be Communists who are free from the burden of the past."

G. Mironov, rector of Yaroslavl University: "I will vote against, I can do nothing else."

A. Malushko, secretary of Yaroslavl Shipbuilding Plant party committee: "The obkom must acknowledge its error."

L. Karnakov, first secretary of Yaroslavl CPSU Gorkom: "If the former decision remains in force we will lose the confidence of Communists and everyone."

B. Smirnov, prorector of the Yaroslavl branch of the Timiryazev Agriculture Academy: "I think differently: Fedor Ivanovich Loshchenkov is a victim of restructuring and of our democracy that we are introducing. (Animation in the auditorium.) Some people may laugh at that, but he is worthy of being a delegate."

Yu. Shevelin, first secretary of Andropov CPSU Gorkom: "There have been no rallies in our city, but the reaction to Comrade Loshchenkov's election as a conference delegate is the same. It crystallizes the entire stagnation period."

Yu. Parnov, member of the CPSU obkom: "Need we publicly express a lack of confidence in Comrade Loshchenkov? Could he now stand up himself and speak in this spirit: I have worked hard, I value the trust, but I withdraw my candidacy?"

I. Tolstoukhov: "Today the bureau members proposed to Fedor Ivanovich that he withdraw his candidacy, but he refused."

Hubbub in the auditorium. Voices: "But perhaps he will do it now?"

F. Loshchenkov: "I cannot agree to your proposal."

By a private (secret) ballot, F.I. Loshchenkov's candidacy was withdrawn from the list of delegates to the 19th party conference (87 obkom members voted for this, 13 against).

The plenum elected Yu.V. Novikov, rector of the medical institute, delegate to the party conference.

Further on Decision

PM1706141088 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 17 Jun 88 Second Edition p 3

[Own correspondent P. Nikitin report: "Decision Revoked"]

[Text] Yaroslavl—An extraordinary plenum of Yaroslavl party obkom held yesterday revoked a former decision and withdrew from F.I. Loshchenkov, chairman of the State Committee for Material Reserves, who was formerly elected delegate to the 19th party conference, the right to represent the oblast at that party forum.

Prior to his appointment to the post of chairman of the USSR State Committee for Material Reserves, F.I. Loshchenkov worked for 25 years as first secretary of Yaroslavl party obkom. At a certain stage Yaroslavl Oblast slackened the pace of progress and began to accumulate unresolved problems in the economic, social, and spiritual spheres, which were exacerbated by being hushed up, and by the desire to pass off wishes as reality and by a tendency to ostentation and ballyhoo.

Speakers at the plenum noted that Comrade Loshchenkov was elected delegate to the party conference without taking account of broad public opinion.

The need to combat the emasculation of the spirit of restructuring and attempts to use new words as a cover for the old methods and habits was spoken of at the plenum. It was noted that a significant proportion of party cadres have largely lost the skills of political work and continue to think and act in the old way and make wide use of command and pressure methods. The work of the apparatus is being restructured too slowly. Speakers came out in favor of a procedure whereby the only criterion for election to party forums and to elected party organs should be not nomenklatura considerations, but the personal, practical, moral, and political qualities of the individual.

Instead of F.I. Loshchenkov, Yu.V. Novikov, rector of Yaroslavl Medical Institute, was elected delegate to the 19th all-union party conference.

Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Ends Session 4 Jun

AU1706100788 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 5 Jun 88 p 1

["Information Announcement on a Session of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] The eighth session of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet continued its proceedings on 4 June.

The Supreme Soviet adopted a decision on the item discussed—the progress made in restructuring the activity of the republic's administrative and economic organs to further improve consumer services for the population, and to speed up the development and perfection of the sphere of services.

Then the deputies moved on to the examination of the third item on the agenda. Deputy V.S. Shevchenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, delivered a report on the draft law of the Ukrainian SSR "On the People's Discussion on Important Issues Concerning the State Life of the Ukrainian SSR."

The following deputies participated in the debate: Ye.A. Novitskiy, Ivano-Frankovsk Obkom second secretary; V.N. Yamchinskiy, Zhitomir Oblispolkom chairman; T.P. Luchaninova, instrument control woman at the "Svema" production association in Shostka, Sumy Oblast; V.I. Zaychuk, Ukrainian SSR minister of justice; V.I. Shinkaruk, chairman of the board of the Ukrainian SSR "Knowledge" Society and director of the Institute of Philosophy under the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences; S.S. Yevtushenko, secretary of the Ukrainian Trade Unions Council; A.T. Zonenko, PRAVDA

UKRAINY editor; Ye.P. Ladyka, calf herd at the sovkhoz belonging to the Peregonovskiy sugar refining combine in Golovanovskiy Rayon, Kirovograd Oblast; and Ye.F. Stankovich, Ukrainian Composers Union board secretary.

Deputy V.S. Shevchenko delivered a concluding speech.

The law of the Ukrainian SSR "On the People's Discussion on Important Issues Concerning the State Life of the Ukrainian SSR" was adopted unanimously.

Deputy N.G. Khomenko, Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium secretary, delivered a report on approving the decrees passed by the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in the period between the session. The law on the approval of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees amending and supplementing some legislative acts of the Ukrainian SSR was adopted.

The session also examined some changes in the composition of Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet permanent commissions. Deputy V.V. Grabin, Sumy Obkom second secretary, was elected chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Commission for Industry.

Deputy Ye.I. Titarenko's inquiry concerning the measures planned to increase in the republic the production of children's clothing was answered by G.G. Nikitenko, Ukrainian SSR minister of the light industry. In answering deputy N.N. Skripnik's inquiry, V.P. Salo, Ukrainian SSR minister of construction, spoke about the measures taken by the ministry to improve the construction of health service facilities. The Supreme Soviet adopted appropriate decisions.

A.M. Roshchupkin, Crimean Oblispolkom chairman, and D.I. Protsenko, chairman of the Ukrainian State Committee for the Protection of Nature, answered the inquiries made by deputies. Deputy B.I. Medovar spoke on questions concerning the protection of nature.

With this the eighth session of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation ended its proceedings.

Estonian Urges Stalinism To Be Declared Crime

LD1706162588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 17 Jun 88

[Commentary by Estonian sociologist Maritu Lauristin on anniversary of 14 June 1941 pogram by Stalinist forces—live or recorded]

[Text] [Lauristin] June 14th is a date in the life of the Estonian people which is marked with sorrow. Forty-seven years ago, on 14 June 1941, about 10,000 people were seized in their homes and transported away in one night. It was on that day that the wave of Stalinist mass repressions reached Estonia. The people have remembered this date for 47 years, but it is only now that we have been able to express our sorrow and our indignation openly.

Taking part in our meeting [on 14 June in Tartu] were not only Estonians. Representatives of other nationalities living in Tartu also took part. Much was said about the fact that Stalinism was a common scourge for all peoples, that it was a common misfortune, a common tragedy. Unlike some other regions of our country, where nationalities problems have now led to saddening conflicts, for example, in connection with events in Nagorno-Karabakh, here in our republic we are already learning and beginning to resolve these problems in a constructive way, by way of dialogue between nationalities, by way of a joint search for solutions. And the participants in the meeting unanimously supported the proposal made by the executive committee, at a session of the executive committee help in the morning, for Stalinism to be recognized as a crime against humanity, and for it to be sentenceable by the common court of all peoples and all nations of the Soviet Union.

[Announcer] Sociologist and well-known public figure of our republic, Mariju Lauristin, was talking about the 14 June meeting in Tartu. Meeting and concerts in memory of the victims of Stalinism also took place in Tallinn and other Estonian towns. And they united again all who live here in Estonia according to one principle: interest in democratization and cleaning-up of our society.

Historian Medvedev Interviewed on Stalin Era

LD1806125588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2007 GMT 17 Jun 88

[From the "View" program, presented by Dmitriy Zakharov and Aleksandr Lyubimov; interview with "well-known historian" Roy Medvedev by unidentified interviewer; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Interviewer] Roy Aleksandrovich, just before we began filming this interview, you took from your shelves your book, "Let History Judge." [video shows cover: "Let History Judge: The Origins and Consequences of Stalinism by Roy A. Medvedev: A Soviet Scholar's Monumental Study of the Stalinist System"] The book appeared in the United States in 1971. You called it an appeal. To whom was it addressed?

[Medvedev] Well, in that title I expressed the idea of an appeal to future generations of Soviet people and to people throughout the world, to what is customarily called the judgment of history. I originally called the book "Before the Judgement of History"; but I later decided that I could not act as a judge. I collect evidence: the testimony of contemporaries, of people who lived at that time, of people who themselves suffered under Stalin and Stalinism, who are in some degree subjective. And I'd like people in the future, and history, to use my testimony as one part of the evidence when they come to investigate and study this problem, and assess what Stalin and Stalinism were, and his role in the life of our country and in our history.

The book was well known in the sixties; among the Moscow intelligentsia there were few people who were not familiar with it. You say it's not known, but it....

[Interviewer, interrupting] It's not widely known to Soviet citizens.

[Medvedev] No. But it was fairly well known in Moscow among representatives of the intelligentsia. It was fairly well known among the old Bolsheviks. A great many people helped me to write the book. I got a lot of help, for example from Konstantin Mikhaylovich Simonov, whom I gave it to read from 1961 onwards. He opened his archives to me. He helped me to gather the material for the book. Ilya Ehrenburg read it and also gave me a lot of advice. And Aleksandr Bek. I received a great deal of help from Tvardovskiy and all the editorial board of Novyy Mir.

[Interviewer] Were you expelled from the party for writing that book?

[Medvedev] Well, I'd been expelled from the party earlier. I was expelled from the party in 1969, when the book was still in manuscript. It was explained to me by the chairman of the party collegium, and explained by Grishin to the group of old Bolsheviks who came to defend me, that the book did not conform to the party's new line on Stalin. What the party's new line on Stalin was, he didn't explain to them.

[Interviewer] Roy Aleksandrovich, I know that in the book you touched on very many aspects of Stalin's activities. I personally am interested in the question of how Stalin managed to gain control over the organs of the NKVD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs] and OGPU [United State Political Administration]

[Medvedev] Well, he subordinated that system in the same way that he subordinated the party to himself, and in the same way as he subordinated to himself the other institutions of state power. He subordinated that system by putting forward people he wanted, who were devoted to him personally; and by means of terror, which was facilitated by the closed nature of that organization.

[Interviewer] Terror against whom?

[Medvedev] Terror against the Cheka [Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counterrevolution and Sabotage] officials themselves. Because the closed nature of that organization made it possible to exercise a reign of terror there in far cruder and harsher forms than in other public institutions and organizations. Stalin practised terror among writers, but the disappearance of each writer was visible and noticeable to their associates. The disappearance of Cheka officials was unnoticeable and invisible. Stalin was a man who trusted no one completely. He even said so openly. And this is mentioned in the biography of Stalin by Barbusse: that one of Stalin's favorite sayings was that a healthy distrust is the basis of good collaboration. In other words, Stalin trusted nobody.

[Interviewer] Roy Aleksandrovich, you've also written a book on Nikita Khrushchev. Could you compare these two political figures in the history of our country?

[Medvedev] Of course one can compare them, because Khrushchev was the man who came to power after Stalin.

[Interviewer] Yes, and he....

[Medvedev, interrupting] And Khrushchev's main merit was to have exposed Stalinism. Khrushchev dealt the strongest blow, a lethal blow even on Stalinism as an ideology, Stalinism as a system of repression, an antisocialist system essentially and by its very nature. Because despite the attempts—over 20 years—to rehabilitate Stalin, they never succeeded in doing so, after the 20th and 22d party congresses. It was Khrushchev who brought forward many of the people now in power. But then, in Khrushchev's time, they were only just climbing the first rungs of state power. They were instructors in the Central Committee; they were instructors in the party raykoms and gorkoms. He began the advancement of these men, and began their promotion to the leadership. But in the higher echelons of state power, and in the middle echelons, on which Khrushchev could draw, there were hardly any who were worthy. And it was all these people, who made up the Central Committee Presidium under Khrushchev—and, to a man, they'd been promoted by Khrushchev, apart from Mikoyan—who removed him. In other words, when Khrushchev had, as it were, completed the renewal of the apparat of power at the apex, they had no further use for him. And when Khrushchev was removed, he said himself—said to us personally—that that day, the day of his removal, was perhaps the happiest day of his life. Because, he said, they were able to remove me by a simple vote, whereas Stalin would have had them all shot immediately. So Khrushchev understood that day, when the Politburo and the Central Committee plenum removed him from power, as possibly the best day of his life: He'd created a system under which the leader of the state could be removed by a simple vote of a Central Committee plenum.

[Interviewer] What is the main feature of a democratic state? What is lacking in our country that would make us a truly democratic state?

[Medvedev] Well, you know, there are several signs of a democratic state. And the question of democracy can be viewed in various ways.

[Interviewer] Well, we have declared all the principles, wouldn't you say, of a democratic state?

[Medvedev] No. We have not even declared certain principles of a democratic state. We have no declaration—for instance in no textbook of socialist democracy or book on socialist democracy is there any declaration of the minority rights. No monopoly of power can provide democracy. A monopoly of power always leads to degeneration. In a democratic state there has to be a system which also provides for the rights of political minorities.

Well, socialism has really only just begun to develop as a social, socio-economic formation, as a system. For socialism, a vast prospect of development still lies ahead. And the socialist society we have at present is not, of course, an advanced socialist system, as it was called under Brezhnev, but only an initial form of socialism. And it has literally unlimited prospects of development; and one can map out lines of development for socialism in the sphere of culture, and in the economic sphere, and in all spheres of human life: the boundless future of mankind, if you like.

[Interviewer] Roy Aleksandrovich, you've said you hope that restructuring will develop successfully in our state and in our country. Tell me, can I hope that Soviet viewers and readers will see your book?

[Medvedev] Well, I don't know. I hope they'll see my books in time. And my hopes will increase if they see the program you and I are making today. Of course I wrote all my books having in mind the Soviet reader who is alive today.

Police Disband Political Rally in Moscow

AU1806170788 Paris AFP in English 1640 GMT 18 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow, June 18 (AFP)—Soviet police detained several young people at a rally in Moscow's Pushkin Square, where political meetings have been held every Saturday since the visit by U.S. President Ronald Reagan.

The authorities had previously tolerated the meetings, organised by "socialist groups" and attended by an ever-increasing number of people since they first got under way a month ago.

About 1,000 people turned up Saturday to hear appeals by members of informal political clubs in favour of democratic reforms within the framework of "peretroyka," the policy of restructuring advocated by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

After 40 minutes, police called on them to disperse, but demonstrators responded by setting out on a march to the town hall.

Police immediately intervened and arrested five "ringleaders," while the demonstrators protested loudly.

Some demonstrators began to collect signatures for a petition appealing for the release of the five which they intended to take to the police station.

Reader Calls for 'Whole Truth' About Economy

PM1706165088 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 17 Jun 88 p 2

[Letter from CPSU member Candidate of Technical Sciences M. Antonov as part of full-page feature under the rubric "19th All-Union Party Conference: We Discuss the CPSU Central Committee Theses": "Speaking of the Main Point"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee Theses cover all aspects of the people's life, but the country's economic situation is insufficiently clearly characterized in them.

A number of items in SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA and other press organs have shown that our economy, as a consequence of incorrect, obsolete structural policy, became "self-consuming," working more for itself than for people. And recently it became a gigantic machine for grinding up resources without tangible benefit to the people and with irremediable damage to nature. Tens of millions of poeple in the country lack satisfactory housing, regions are suffocating from lack of roads, the people's living standard is low, and there are not sufficient resources to resolve these urgent problems. Yet we still spend tens of billions of rubles annually on building industrial facilities which we could do without. Departmental tyranny has led to a deterioration in the ecological situation such that large territories are becoming basically unfit for human habitation.

The Theses say that in the course of restructuring it has proved possible to halt the growth of negative trends. But, first, that is not enough. And second, negative trends have by no means been eliminated. Irrigation workers continue to dig totally unnecessary canals—the Volga-Chorgay canal, the second Volga-Don canal, and the Danube-Dnieper canal, while hydroengineering workers intend to erect new GES's on the Yenisey with vast areas of flooding. And with the switching of enterprises to full economic accountability and self-financing the situation might not only fail to improve, but could become substantially worse. If this course persists, it would be possible to double or treble national income while still having half-empty shelves in the stores and an intolerably low living standard for the people.

Loud appeals, the involvement of foreign capital, and other steps of that nature will not save us. Only our own efforts can save us—the elaboration of a modern understanding of socialism and constructive labor by all the people in order to attain this high and noble goal. But that means that the people must be told the whole truth about the country's real situation. That is the conference's main task.

Past Foreign Policy 'Blunders' Criticized

PM2006092188 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jun 88 p 3

["Topical Interview" with Doctor of Historical Sciences Professor V.I. Dashichev, chief of the USSR Academy of Sciences Economics of the World Socialist System Institute International Relations of Socialist Countries Department, by A. Novikov: "The Paths Chosen For Us"; date and place not given—first paragraph is KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] One of our correspondents spoke with Doctor of Historical Sciences Professor V.I. Dashichev, chief of the USSR Academy of Sciences Economics of the World Socialist System Institute International Relations of Socialist Countries Department, about the successes and failures of Soviet foreign policy.

[Novikov] The CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference say: "A critical analysis of the past has shown that dogmatism and the subjectivist approach have also left a mark on our foreign policy." This is a frank admission that, over the last few decades, our foreign policy did suffer from blunders, omissions, and incompetence.

[Dashichev] Yes, over a prolonged period the USSR foreign policy was elitist and decisions were made by a very narrow circle of people, at times by just 2-4 persons. As for Stalin, he decided all foreign policy questions entirely by himself. This is why policy was based on voluntarist decisions without consideration of specific circumstances, without a clear-cut long-term concept of foreign policy. This could not have failed to produce anomalies. The most important principles of foreign policy were disregarded. One example is the fact that foreign policy must be in line with the tasks of domestic policy. It must not hinder us in solving the domestic tasks of socialist building, and it must be cost-effective. All these principles were being ignored. Different situations and the intentions of the opposite side were often incorrectly assessed. Political strategy did not conform with military strategy. I think that this was exemplified by the deployment of SS-20 missiles targeted on West Europe, although our main opponent in the military sphere was the United States. This led to further exacerbation of the situation.

Here is another example. Politics is the art of acquiring allies without making enemies. But the violation of this principle was very clearly manifested throughout the sixties, seventies, and early eighties. We did nothing to eliminate the front of great powers which was formed against the Soviet Union and the socialist community in general. It was totally unprecedented in history for Britain, France, the United States, Japan, and China to act, in one way or another, jointly against the Soviet Union. But we did encounter such a situation.

All these destructive phenomena were conditioned largely by the fact that policy was not subject to public monitoring. It was not the done thing in our country to talk about mistakes committed in the foreign policy sphere. To this day, you will not find any mention at all in any book of a blunder or incorrect action....

[Novikov] That was how foreign policy decisions were made in the past. What is the current procedure?

[Dashichev] Now I can see major changes in this sphere. Previously the voices of expert personnel and specialists were not heeded, and their recommendations were brushed aside, but now science is beginning to closely collaborate with practical politics. I personally know that the minister of foreign affairs holds this to be of exceptionally great importance. Experts now sit on the scientific consultative councils set up under Ministry of Foreign Affairs departments, which hold free discussions of various foreign policy problems and organize joint conferences and situation analyses.

But I believe that the mechanism of this process needs major improvement. And the public can play a major part in this. It must influence foreign policy through the legislative organs. For example, why not set up permanent Supreme Soviet commissions on foreign affairs? Now they work only during sessions, and even when they do work.... And yet they must function on a permanent basis and conduct hearings on various questions even before decisions are made, involving experts, scientists, practitioners, and public figures. Independent opinions, perhaps different from the official opinion, would be expressed at such hearings. Of course, these organs must act not as a destructive opposition but within the framework of keen interest in strengthening the positions of socialism. In this way, the leadership of our foreign policy would be given an opportunity to choose from a full range of opinions and would find it easier to make the best possible decisions. At the same time, the public would be given an opportunity to inform the leadership if, in its opinion, something was being done incorrectly.

[Novikov] Nowadays we frequently talk about the need to destroy the enemy image. This is obviously of paramount importance also for the state's activity in the international arena?

[Dashichev] Of course. Foreign policy cannot function effectively unless we have a correct idea of the opposite side. But for a long time we lacked such an idea, making do with stereotypes created way back in the "cult" times. This, in its own turn, created major anomalies. It is well known that a hysteria about a supposedly imminent attack against us was being deliberately whipped up in Stalin's time. Stalin used the external threat as his prime justification for both collectivization and industrialization. But such a threat did not exist in the late twenties, while in the thirties its image was created through artificially whipped-up spy mania and intrigues by all sorts of "saboteurs," "hirelings," and so on.

Has the West really been striving all along to destroy our system? I was told once by a major West German industrialist: "Your press and your people are always saying that others want to attack you, that others treat you with hostility, that they want to overthrow your system, destroy socialism, and so on. On the contrary. When I think back over your history, I thank God that you had Stalin and Brezhnev, that they created a system under which you, a country with incalculable natural wealth and talented people, eke out a miserable existence, with one of Europe's lowest standards of living, at the tail end of scientific and technical progress. What would have happened had an efficient economic system developed in the USSR? You would have been the first and mightiest technical, industrial, and cultural power in the world. But you were condemned to vegetate under the conditions in which you developed. And this did suit us. The only thing that did not suit us was your desire to spread your system to other countries, throughout the world."

This is a typical train of thought by a representative of industrial and financial circles in the West, and we must give it some serious thought. Obviously, the elimination of incorrect ideas about the West's intentions and the demolition of the enemy image are also among the most important conditions for correct pursuit of policy.

[Novikov] In your opinion, what mistakes were committed by our country in the international arena over the last few decades?

[Dashichev] If we were to look at our policy during the period of stagnation, the sixties and seventies, we would see that major blunders and omissions were committed in parallel with the tangible successes. On the surface, everything looked good: We were struggling for peace, for disarmament, for friendship among peoples, but in actual fact some very serious miscalculations were committed in the assessment of the global situation.

The point is that after 1945, when imperialism was extremely weakened while the scope of the revolutionary and national liberation movement expanded on an unprecedented scale, military aid and even liberation wars were both justified in order to expand the framework of socialism and the anti-imperialist liberation front. But the situation which prevailed in the seventies was very different from that in the postwar period. Nonetheless, we launched an offensive against imperialism's positions in the Third World in the mid-seventies. We attempted to expand the sphere of socialism's influence to various developing countries which, I believe, were totally unprepared to adopt socialism. And what came of all this? A sharp clash of political contradictions with the Western powers (and that was not all—even China opposed our actions in the Third World). Detente was derailed, and we came up against a new and unprecedented explosion of the arms race.

The United States wanted to use it to push us back against a wall, to corner us, to create economic, social, and political difficulties. It adopted the form of the SDI and the inflation of military budgets beyond belief, and we naturally tried to follow suit. This proved that our foreign policy was not cost-effective. In other words, our foreign policy actions made us shoulder the steadily growing burden of military expenditures and moral costs.

At this point we must mention the violation of yet another of the most important principles of foreign policy: correspondence between set goals and the realistic chance of attaining them. For example, we proclaimed the achievement of military-strategic parity between the USSR and the West to be an outstanding success of our foreign policy. However, it seems to me that, first, there was and there is no need for such parity and, second, it also produced certain extremely disadvantageous results. After all, it is impossible to bring the USSR into equilibrium with the United States, with all the NATO countries, and also with China, which opposed us in the sixties and seventies, without undermining the foundations of our civilian economy. This represents an incredible burden for the economy. Furthermore, taking advantage of our commitment to military parity, the United States and its allies have raised their ceiling and forced us to keep following suit. Only now have we started to focus attention on the principle of reasonable sufficiency in our policy.

I would also like to mention our unconsidered approaches to the struggle for peace. We have an incorrect idea of the correlation between war and politics. For many decades we have been struggling to curb arms and reduce nuclear arsenals.... But containing the arms race means first solving the political questions, settling political differences, and winning mutual trust.

[Novikov] In other words, for a long time now we have been trying to eliminate the effect rather than the cause?

[Dashichev] Absolutely correct. This is like putting the cart before the horse. We are trying to resolve these questions in the wrong sequence. The idea that the arms race problem must be solved only by political rather than by military-technical means was heard very clearly for the first time only at the 27th Congress.

So I think that there has been a turnabout in Soviet foreign policy, an awareness of the importance of resolving political problems in order to curb the arms race. This, of course, applies primarily to regional conflicts.

The example of Afghanistan offers graphical proof that we can solve these regional conflicts on the basis of compromise, using political means, by pursuing a policy of national reconciliation.

[Novikov] Let us dwell on this question in greater detail. What, in your view, are the lessons of Afghanistan?

[Dashichev] It seems to me that, when the decision was made to send our troops into Afghanistan (even though that was done at the Afghan government's request), all the possible consequences of this step were not thoroughly weighed. I think that, before doing so, all other possibilities ought to have been utilized in order to apply a policy of national reconciliation right at that time. It is perfectly clear that this step contributed to a most serious aggravation of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States and the other Western powers, it had a most negative effect on the easing of international tension, and, in my opinion, it gave a powerful boost to the arms race. The number of votes cast in the United Nations for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan grew steadily during the early eighties and was in excess of 120 in 1987.

One sacred rule must always be observed in politics: Before taking the first step, it is essential to think of the last one. Obviously, those who decided to introduce Soviet troops into Afghanistan either did not know this rule or disregarded it.

Our domestic situation demanded the creation of a calm international situation in order to solve the mountain of problems which had accumulated in the economy and in sociopolitical life. Nonetheless, we took on the burden of war.

[Novikov] In your opinion, how great is the influence of internal processes in society on the sphere of international relations?

[Dashichev] The solution of foreign policy tasks is most closely linked with our domestic development, with the successful implementation of restructuring, glasnost, democratization, and our society's openness. Yes, we must open our doors to the outside world, from which we have been isolated for decades. This, by the way, also helped to give us an incorrect idea about the opposite side. Furthermore, any isolation in our time leads to economic, spiritual, and cultural backwardness. We have already experienced this. Stalin is at times compared with Peter the Great. But it must be borne in mind that Peter "opened the window" to Europe, he opened up Russia, while Stalin closed it. Not only spiritually, but also economically.

Take even the system of mutual relations within the socialist community. The ideal of socialism—to ensure direct contacts between peoples—was declaratively proclaimed even under Brezhnev. But like everything else—whether the pursuit of integration or the implementation of programs for economic, scientific, and technical cooperation—this was not given a real content. We have contacts at party level and at departmental levels, but the broad and direct contacts between peoples, between labor collectives, and among individuals could be much greater. And this will remain so until such time as we establish mutual convertibility of our currencies. The lack of this is the main obstacle to our integration. No matter what we say, no matter for how long we postpone the solution of this question, it must be solved sooner or later. Neither direct ties, nor human contacts, nor the creation of joint property and joint enterprises will be possible without a universal value equivalent within the CEMA zone.

Of course, this applies not only to economic relations within the socialist system but also to the USSR's position vis-a-vis the international economic community as a whole. Here is what E.A. Shevardnadze said in a speech at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs last year: "Outside the Soviet Union, we all represent a great country which has steadily been losing its position as one of the leading industrially developed countries in the last 15 years.... The country's foreign policy service did not give prompt warning about our lagging in the scientific and technical revolution, did not forecast the structural restructuring of the world economy, did not warn against the one-sided commitment to trade in energy sources. If we are absolutely honest, we often contributed to, and at times actually were instrumental in, vast material investment in hopeless foreign policy projects, we tacitly encouraged actions which are, both directly and indirectly, costing our people a lot to this day, and we coordinated our foreign economic and scientific-technical cooperation very badly or, in other words, not at all. It lies on our conscience that the foreign policy service—one of the most important and most sensitive links in the system of state management—performed its functions in detachment from the country's fundamental and vital interests."

Yes, the information, scientific, economic, and cultural opening up of our country must constitute a tremendous leap in its development. During the last few decades we have placed special emphasis on the struggle between the two systems, but it seems to me that now we must have more to say about their collaboration and cooperation in the most diverse spheres.

Paper Discusses Travel Procedures

PM1606151788 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 9 Jun 88 p 2

[Article by B. Yelisov, USSR deputy minister of internal affairs, under the rubric "The Paper Spoke Out. What Has Been Done?": "'Stamp After Stamp After Stamp'"]

[Text] The readers' reactions, published on 4 February and 16 April, to N. Popova's article "Stamp After Stamp After Stamp" (10 November 1987) have been carefully examined.

Under conditions of developing democracy and with the participation of other interested ministries and departments, the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs has made repeated applications to the authorities, proposing simplification of the procedure governing trips to the USSR by foreigners and the formalities connected with foreign trips by Soviet citizens and the issuing of foreign travel documents. Since January 1987 the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the government have adopted a number of decrees and resolutions simplifying the formalities associated with USSR citizens going abroad and foreigners and Soviet citizens living permanently abroad entering the USSR. The previous restrictions on trips to certain countries and on the period between foreign trips have been lifted, maximum periods have been established for the consideration of petitions, a list of specific grounds has been introduced whereby negative decisions can be made, and the procedure for appealing against them has been established.

Temporary travel abroad by USSR citizens at the invitation of distant relatives, friends, and acquaintances and invitations to them to visit the USSR are authorized. The duration of foreign visits is decided by those making them, depending on their personal circumstances. Citizens can travel abroad at a time convenient to them, within 6 months from the date of issue of the foreign passport.

Other relatives as well as close relatives (father, mother, husband, wife, son, daughter, brother, and sister) are authorized to travel abroad to visit people who are gravely ill or to attend relatives' funerals. Other family members as well as close relatives can visit relatives' burial places, irrespective of the country to be visited, in cases where joint trips are contemplated. In all cases the intending travelers are entitled to increased foreign currency allowances and close relatives have always been entirely exempt from paying stamp duty on foreign passports.

In cases of travel abroad or invitations to visit the USSR, people no longer have to provide references, obtain the consent of the management at their place of work or the CPSU raykom (gorkom) or Komsomol raykom (gorkom) in the case of party or Komsomol members, or supply the husband's (wife's) consent to temporary travel to any country.

There have been substantial changes to the application forms for documents for travel abroad and entry into the USSR. Fifteen questions have been removed from the application for temporary travel to socialist countries: Reasons for the change of name of the applicant, education, specialty, party membership, reasons for leaving the party, purpose of foreign travel, type of transport, what country the applicant's relatives formerly resident in the USSR went to, how the applicant came to be acquainted with a foreign citizen, academic degrees, titles, state and international prizes, information on relatives (except for data on husband, wife, and close relatives living permanently abroad), on criminal prosecutions and refusal of permission to travel abroad, on trips abroad (except for any trip in the current year), on members of the family also applying to travel abroad, official notes. Seven questions have been removed from the application to invite people from the socialist countries: On the applicant's party membership, when he intends to invite foreign citizens, how he came to know them, where they came from in the USSR, information on relatives (except for data on husband and wife), reference from the place of residence and consent of members of the family living with the applicant, signature of the applicant on the front of the form, and official notes. Seventeen questions have been removed from the application for temporary travel to other countries and for permanent residence abroad, six questions have been omitted from the application for entry from these countries, and a number of the questions that remain in the application forms have been simplified.

Applications for repeat foreign trips and for a review of negative decisions presented in an arbitrary form are considered if the data in previous applications remains unchanged. In these cases applicants will provide references from their place of work or study.

Applications for travel to socialist countries at the personal invitation of state and public organizations in those countries to various events connected with anniversaries of the liberation from fascism and with the unveiling of monuments and other events of social and political significance are accepted and examined by internal affairs bodies as private business trips. In view of the special nature of these trips, the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs has ordered that the travelers will be exempt from paying stamp duty on foreign travel documents.

At the request of USSR citizens and members of their families residing permanently abroad, in the event of their temporary travel to the USSR, documents will be drawn up entitling them to interrupt their stay in the USSR for a brief trip abroad and subsequent return to the Soviet Union to continue the private visit. If Soviet citizens have to enter the USSR again, to visit the same person, they will not be required to submit visa applications. And if a Soviet citizen staying temporarily in the USSR wishes to take up permanent residence, a Soviet identity card will be issued immediately on application.

On leaving to take up permanent residence abroad, people no longer have to provide sworn statements by children or brothers and sisters staying in the USSR to the effect that the person leaving the country has no undischarged obligations envisaged by USSR legislation in relation to them. The only exceptions are cases where the person leaving the country has been living with them and running a home with them. On leaving for countries with which the USSR has concluded treaties on rendering legal assistance, the aforementioned statements from the parents of the person leaving the country and that person's former spouse (if there are under-age children from the marriage) are not required to be presented.

The practice whereby citizens leaving to take up permanent residence abroad present certificates showing that they do not owe anything to telephone exchanges, rental centers, and other consumer services is discontinued.

The decisions that have been adopted have created conditions for the further widening of contacts between Soviet people and foreign citizens. In 1987 over 250,000 Soviet and 300,000 foreign citizens made private visits, which is twice as many as in 1986, and internal affairs bodies drew up and issued over 1.5 million foreign travel documents. During that period around 40,000 Soviet citizens were reunited with relatives living abroad, which is 5.3 times more than in 1986. The number of negative decisions has fallen and they are now made in only 1.2 percent of cases of applications for temporary foreign visits and 2.5 percent of cases of applications to leave in order to take up permanent residence abroad. The main reason for such decisions is that the applicants have had access to state secrets.

At the end of October 1987 the Ministry of Internal Affairs Collegium examined the question of the activity of the visa and registration service, indicated a number of substantial shortcomings, and outlined specific measures to further improve this work. The collegium demanded the resolute eradication of disrespectful, callous treatment of people, avoidance of the slightest deviation from ethical and moral standards, higher demands on personnel for the precise implementation of the procedure for arranging appointments and drawing up and issuing foreign travel documents, and strict observance of socialist legality and of the interests of the Soviet state and citizens' rights.

Visa and registration apparatuses have been strengthened in a number of regions where the service has a large workload. Measures are being implemented to create proper conditions for interviewing Soviet and foreign citizens, to equip and furnish buildings, and provide technical and information facilities. Official investigations are being carried out in cases of illegal actions by visa and registration apparatus personnel and, if they are confirmed, action is taken against the culprits, up to and including dismissal from internal affairs organs.

As for the specific shortcomings in the activity of visa and registration apparatuses set out in the paper on 9 April, the following facts have been determined.

The facts set out in N.V. Znamenskaya's letter have been confirmed. Senior Visa and Registration Inspector N.N. Khorseva has been reprimanded by order of the chief of the Moscow Oblispolkom Main Internal Affairs Administration for committing a violation and for negligent treatment of N.V. Znamenskaya. Apologies were given to N.V. Znamenskaya by Militia Colonel Sivryuk, chief of the Main Internal Affairs Administration Visa and Registration Department.

The problems V.S. Shalatskiy encountered obtaining documents for a trip to Poland did actually take place at the Zaliznichnyy Rayon Internal Affairs Department. A check on his statement ascertained that at that time there had been a sharp increase in the number of applications from citizens concerning travel abroad and invitations for people to visit the USSR. The waiting line for documents in the rayon was also caused by the fact that interviews were temporarily being conducted by only one employee. At a personal interview on 29 March the visa and registration department leadership explained to V.S. Shalatskiy the reasons for the situation and measures were adopted to eliminate the shortcomings. On 21 April V.S. Shalatskiy received a foreign passport for travel to Poland.

In view of the fact that there has been an increase in the number of applications for foreign travel in a number of other rayons of Kiev the Internal Affairs Administration leadership has taken steps to improve the interviewing procedure. In particular, separate services have been established for citizens traveling to socialist and capitalist couintries and opening hours have been increased.

Great Patriotic War and labor veteran N.P. Golovnov, having received an invitation from a unit of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany, applied in 1977, at his workplace, to the Kharkov air detachment party organization to obtain consent to travel. But, according to him, the enterprise party committee refused to meet his request, which is why he wrote to the paper. N.P. Golovnev did not apply to the internal affairs bodies concerning travel to the GDR. We would inform the editorial board that internal affairs bodies do not have any authority when it comes to drawing up documents for trips to military units abroad.

As a result of a check on A.S. Petrosyan's letter and a conversation with her, it was established that she went to Romania in 1980 and 1982 at the invitation of relatives and invited them to Armenia in 1983, but her relatives were refused entry on the grounds of the Law on the Legal Status of Foreign Citizens in the USSR. Since 1983 A.S. Petrosyan has not applied in the proper way to the internal affairs organs to travel to Romania or invite relatives from that country. The new procedure for obtaining foreign travel documents and inviting people to visit the USSR was explained to her on 21 April 1988.

O. Sviridova and L. Starykh (Moscow) and Mr and Mrs Khirchenko (Kiev), extracts from whose letters are published in the paper, did not apply to internal affairs organs in connection with travel abroad or inviting people to the USSR.

The critical remarks about the appearance of Visa and Registration Departments' premises were just. The internal affairs organs, with the aid of local soviets, are currently seeking ways of transferring visa and registration apparatuses to new, well appointed premises or expanding existing ones. Ministry of Internal Affairs and Internal Affairs Administration services are repairing buildings and supplying departments with furniture and other equipment. At the end of 1988 it is planned to move the Moscow Visa and Registration Administration to a new building, and conditions for interviewing citizens and the layout of premises have been improved in visa and registaration apparatuses in Leningrad.

Readers of the newspaper have asked questions connected with the payment of stamp duty on foreign travel documents. It is established in government normative acts that the duty on documents for travel to socialist countries is R30 and for travel to other countries R100. Duty of R1 is payable on each application form for a foreign passport for private travel. At the same time, if a citizen has valid reasons local financial bodies can waive all or part of the duty. These funds go to the local soviet budget to finance kray, oblast, city, and rayon sociocultural measures.

The USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs is currently participating in the elaboration of proposals on amendments to legislation regulating questions of travel into and out of the USSR geared to further simplifying the procedure for drawing up documents and expanding contacts between Soviet people and foreign citizens.

Youth Paper Views 'Unofficial' Associations

PM1506155188 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 May 88 p 4

[S. Kushnerev article under the rubric "19th Party Conference: Young People and Society": "Newcomers?"—boldface as published]

[Text] It is humiliating to force an open door.

"But we're not outsiders," the journalists argued, proffering passes provided by editorial offices.

But on that day only people with special invitations were being admitted to Moscow's Yunost Hotel.

Here were students who 2 years or so ago were coming to the editorial office (then they were trying to save the sadly well-known Shcherbakov chambers from the bulldozer; later, it seems, they were waging a political battle over materials relating to the 10th party congress; next they seem to have become quite interested in school political clubs). Here was an eighth-grader, of whom I know only that he is involved in producing an interschool wall newspaper with the strange title of "Barricade." Here were old acquaintances from the nature conservation teams...

For 2 days at the end of January Moscow Komsomol Gorkom opened the doors of the Yunost Hotel to the Moscow Federation of Socialist Social Clubs. This is the self-styled name of the amateur youth associations that, as they themselves say, "dissociated themselves organizationally from demagogues and extremists" at a meeting at the "Innovator" Culture Center last August.

They should be pleased—only a couple of years ago none of them, I believe, would have even been allowed over the threshold, let alone gotten special invitations. But for us this is not enough: Invitations are fine, of course, but why special ones?

It was later explained to me that this decision was made in conjunction with the "do-it-yourselfers" themselves. If those demagogues and extremists had forced their way into the Yunost, the meeting that took so much trouble to prepare would have been wrecked.

That is probably correct. And yet we can hardly be reassured by the statement that this time only the ill-intentioned were left outside the door.

However, the arguments over who's who did not end either in August or since. Someone will probably get to the bottom of it. But our readers want to find out what is happenig now. The total number of amateur youth associations is said to be already close on 30,000... And this is perhaps why the same questions are today being repeated more frequently than ever before in the editors' mail: Who is not with us? Who is against us?

"'The Communists' are writing you. Our tendency came into being 1 January 1987. There is nothing worth buying around here, and we have come together in a group to rectify things. We have already drawn up a plan of action. We are going to monitor all the city's chiefs (unofficially, of course). And if they do anything wrong (not in the spirit of restructuring), we'll beat them up. But first, of course, we will warn them what must be done, using our common sense. In short, we are declaring war on those who are holding up restructuring.

"We do not canvass anyone to join our association: This is a cry from the soul. We do not smoke or drink, we do not put ourselves above others, we like rock music, and we practice karate.

"There are five of us. We have all served in the Army.

"Amur Oblast."

Very many such letters have been received in the editorial office.

Approximately 500 are from some secret "associations." True, they have very different names: "The Sewage Disposal Men," "The Assorted Protestants," "The Atlantes," "The Masons," "The Patriots," "The First

Smart Thinkers..." True, they do not all like rock music or practice karate. They have not all served in the Army. They do not all abstain from drinking and smoking.

But they are all invariably struggling against someone.

Most frequently, however, not against chiefs. Against currency speculators and drug addicts, nationalists and cosmopolitans, conformists and extremists, "heavy metalists" and "new wavers," and "hippies." That is, as a rule, against each other.

This is probably, so far, the only thing that really unites the "midnighters" (this is what we have called these groups for ourselves—after the title of the article of 16 August last year in which we first applied this word to them).

In one Kazan "family rock commune" this "struggle" is called "the revival of the spirit of past fighting ages." And one historian has described phenomena of this kind as demonstrating "the desire to answer the question 'Who is to blame?' as quickly as possible so as to avoid answering the question 'Why?'"

There is in fact nothing touching about all this. Particularly as these letter writers are no more than 16-18 years old and, by and large, have had neither reason nor time to feel despair or bitterness. And yet the remaining 1,500 responses reveal roughly the same "adolescent syndrome." "Who is to blame?" is the question asked in turn by people who cannot be suspected on grounds of either age or education of belonging to such "associations." And they answer in just the same way: currency speculators and drug addicts, nationalists and cosmopolitans, conformists and extremists, "heavy metalists" and "new wavers," and "hippies." And most frequently they lump all these together in one word: "unofficials" [neformaly].

"What have we seen among Komsomol members over the past 18-24 months (your newspaper writes about this)? Some factional groupings have been set up... We must not propagandize this but struggle against it as an evil. This is no longer glasnost, comrades, but propaganda of ideas alien to our society," A.S. Skibitskiy, a labor veteran from Kiev, believes.

There are many astounded and indignant letters on this topic. They have reminded us of the literary personage who would look in the mirror every morning in the hope of seeing an angel there.

But where should he appear from, this angel?

I specially began with an extreme, with the "midnighters," so that no doubts should remain: Indeed, what kind of angels are they... Are they not enemies too?

After the Second Komsomol Central Committee Plenum reaffirmed that "in terms of interests the youth associations nowhere constitute an alternative to or competition with the Komsomol, except in the fevered imagination of people who claim it to be so," it would not be worth returning to this topic. If it were not for the amazing persistence of this fevered imagination.

I remember a recent "round-table" that discussed methods of working with various amateur youth associations. I was there and, quite honestly, I perceived it as a proper discussion: normal, businesslike, even well-meaning...

But...

A scientist, a candidate of sciences, summed up the discussion: "All (my emphasis—S.K.) the methods of which we have tried to speak today may be divided into three groups: cautionary, inhibitive, and schismatic." All this has long been known to science, he said.

Indeed—very long...

You know, frankly speaking, I myself am still wary about all these new associations. Here, for example, I write and think: If it had not been for work on the newspaper, would I have gone to the function at the Yunost Hotel? How would I have explained at the entrance what I had lost there?

At any rate, when students telephoned me the day before that meeting and joyfully reported: "We have included you on our list of guests," I was rather at a loss whether to be pleased at such trust...

Things are somehow calmer at a distance.

And this worries me even more than these associations in themselves. From where do we get this "spirit of past fighting ages"?

True, people seldom speak openly of such an attitude now. They usually tone it down: We are not talking about all associations, only the worst—the "socially negative" (among which the aforesaid candidate of sciences numbered the "socially neutral" ones, including ordinary neighborhood groups).

But how are they to be distinguished?

We asked the specialists about this point-blank. They hemmed and hawed and talked about the need for "precise scientific typology" (like "Advice to the Mushroom Gatherer"?), for some specific recommendations, and for some kind of "computerized information bank."

It is true that positive examples were still cited. They are, as a rule, international friendship clubs and teams, technical creativity circles, and groups conserving nature and architectural monuments. But according to Higher

Komsomol School Scientific Research Center data published in our own newspaper, these associations hardly make up the majority in the amateur youth movement today.

And the rest are enemies, eh?

What do they want? According to sociologists, they are interested, above all, in the quality of youth goods, the development of youth music, and problems of war and peace. Restructuring the Komsomol is, unfortunately, in 13th place. Ecology and the protection of ancient monuments come a little lower. A little higher are the subject of loneliness, questions about sex, the broadening of democracy, and setting up a family.

In general, if the imagination is to be calmed, what is left? More accurately, who?

The young person seeking the meaning of life, his place in society, interesting work, like-minded people, and opponents. Concerned about genuine state problems. True, more in words at present.

Do you want to get to know them?

A picture of 18-year-old worker Vasya Fomin was printed in our newspaper on 7 November last year.

He is a "metalist." However, his crew most frequently calls itself "square men" [pun on Russian word skvernyy, meaning "bad"], because it has nowhere to meet but the public square [skver].

We published Vasya's picture together with his replies to an editorial office questionnaire on restructuring. After the issue of the newspaper appeared and before he actually left for the Army, Vasya would occasionally remind us of his existence. He usually telephoned after midnight—either after his shift or after a stroll in the public square. He would choose difficult subjects: bureaucrats, lines at wine stores, socialist self-management, enemies of restructuring...

One day he said that, if he had a time machine enabling him to travel back to any of the past 70 years (such a question was also included in the questionnaire), he would ask to go back to the early thirties—and he "would work to prevent the personality cult."

Another time he reported that he would resolve the food problem in the capital "very simply—I would close Moscow to people from elsewhere, that's all."

It was as though two different people were telephoning. But they were one and the same. Vasya Fomin.

Should he, too, go on the computer? With what symbol, I wonder?

You will say: We are simplifying matters. But surely several people meeting together constitute a more primitive phenomenon than each of them individually?

As far as I know, the "bad company" did not plant trees, restore monuments, or design technical models. So, was it harmful?

For we are accustomed to demanding material evidence for everything that is "harmless": models, trees, repaired sandboxes... And if they do not take hold of shovels, people say they must be demagogues.

According to this logic, the "Arzamas" amateur association (there was one of the same name in the 19th century) is unequivocally harmful. There is, of course, concern here for our logic but not for "Arzamas," whose members included, for example, A.S. Pushkin, V.A. Zhukovskiy, P.A. Vyazemskiy, A.I. Turgenev... As well as, it is true, S.S. Uvarov, the future tsarist minister of public enlightenment (who was known as the "minister of public obscurantism"). But, you will agree, Uvarov himself should have been upset about this, not Pushkin and Zhukovskiy.

Incidentally, many other historically well-known amateur associations also preferred mental work to any other...

Is such "amateur activity" really no longer needed today?

The contrasting of manual work with mental work (as well as the other way around, incidentally) is very suitable soil for real demagoguery.

Our readers write: Let people first earn the right to their own thoughts. But can they earn it without thoughts, eh? Where will they get to during this time? Where will they then appear from?

We should not labor under a delusion in this regard either. The aforementioned example of "common sense" from Amur Oblast may be continued with a letter from some Khabarovsk "collectivists": These prefer to "struggle against perversions of socialism by picketing cooperative cafes and other private ventures..."

The "midnighters'" letters are precisely an example of what can happen if the craving for action overtakes the craving for thought.

Against this background the meeting at the Yunost Hotel may, perhaps, be compared with a feast of minds. Associations of a quite different type were represented there—those with an interest in the economy, history, jurisprudence, philosophy, or, say, the theory of the amateur movement itself. But in this case there is precisely a lack of practice.

We are today observing such a strange kind of acceleration: The interest in social life is clearly overtaking the ability to participate in it.

It is, of course, possible to complain that for some people this interest starts not with the shovel, for others not with books, but simply with a search for suitable company. But the Polish psychologist Marek Kotanski, by the way, prefers to act in the same way: He begins the social rehabilitation of the most "difficult" and worst young people by creating something like voluntary amateur associations for them. Quite successfully, it is said.

Although the task will be a bit more complex for us today: to rehabilitate the very concepts of "association," "collective," and "organization."

And what then?

When will the "midnighters" grow up, dress themselves properly, have their hair done, sit down to books, and move on from the question "Who is to blame?" to the question "Why?"...

When will associations like those represented in the Yunost Hotel outgrow their transitional age and move on from the question "Why?" to the question "What is to be done?"...

Is this all we are waiting for to fling open all doors?

Why this question? Because such an example already exists. Ideal but in no way idyllic. Student nature conservation teams. This is almost the only amateur movement that has withstood all the past frosts on the ground of our social life.

They were not closed down, like the communard movement. They were not "harmonized," like the amateur song movement. They were not emasculated, like the Voluntary People's Militia movement (it came into being—hard though it is to believe it today—precisely as an amateur movement)...

On the contrary. This movement was developing precisely during the years that we today call the "stagnation" years. And not just outwardly and quantitatively. Without abandoning a single one of their "minor affairs," the teams went further. Even on the question "Who is to blame?": They proceeded from the struggle against poachers to the struggle against poaching by ministries and departments. And still further. "It is easier to hunt people than to train a skilled hunter," they themselves recently criticized.

And ecology led increasingly frequently into economics, history, jurisprudence, philosophy, and that same theory of the amateur movement itself.

And this was precisely the reason why more and more effort went not into conserving nature but into proving their right to conserve it because the teams' rights had essentially been defined long before they came into being. They had hardly changed—these rights—since 1932, when the "Statute on Voluntary Societies and Unions" was adopted. Not only did that statute not mention that voluntary societies or unions should monitor any departments, but the departments themselves in the form of the people's commissariats were also most frequently their curators.

As far as I know, the teams themselves would have liked most of all to put an end to their "partisan" status. But it was here that they encountered in practice the "methods" that the aforementioned "round-table" was devoted to discussing.

Suffice it to say that the All-Russian Nature Conservation Society [ARNCS] certainly did not recognize the team movement in the first year of its existence and only eventually agreed to set up a council for the teams' work. Just so: not a council of teams but a council for their work. A "methods coordination" council. That is, a kind of guardian: Those for whose work the council was formed were plainly in the minority there. On the other hand, the very ministries and departments earlier accused of "poaching" by the teams ended up as guardians...

This did not happen in 1932. It happened in 1985.

So what should these methods be called: "schismatic" or "cautionary"? Departmental or overtly poaching?

Incidentally, today we know of many examples where poachers and departments act as a united front precisely with regard to "amateur activity," democratization, and public control. Understandably, it is more convenient for them not when "everything that is not prohibited is possible" but when "everything that is possible is not prohibited." (At the same time, it is also well known what was possible for both the poachers and the departments.) Therefore both prefer, of course, to deal with lone "pretenders" and have an identical fear of any organization but their own.

But what does the voluntary society fear? The editorial office has received hundreds of letters from members of five or six of our voluntary societies simultaneously, who themselves see nothing but "sham" in such activeness of theirs. At the same time, judging by the size of the sums transferred to very varied voluntary funds and judging by the very fact of the emergence of such funds right now, people certainly do not begrudge the 1-kopek and 10-kopek pieces for that many do not even take receipts.

The crisis of many of our voluntary societies is particularly noticeable against the background of the growth in REAL [uppercase as published] social activeness. The "lower" levels no longer wish to do things the old way.

And the "upper" levels frequently no longer can. "You will not find a contractor even for big money who would undertake to clean up a river, and you do not have the right to spend the society's kopeks without the permission of a higher organization," I.P. Sulzhenko, deputy chairman of the Kamensk-Shakhtinskiy City ARNCS Council Presidium, bitterly admits. (For the sake of objectivity, it must be said that Ivan Pavlovich still sees the population's low activeness and awareness as the society's chief misfortune).

Incidentally, the Nature Conservation Society was also far from the front ranks of the public's struggle against the river diversion project. Is this not a crisis?

The conclusions from the 27-year history of nature conservation teams fitted into several typewritten pages of their suggestions for reorganizing the ARNCS. Their essence is to restructure the voluntary society like an association, so that it really unites the very varied voluntary ecological associations that simply no longer fit within the 1932 framework.

Today it is not just a question of the legal framework. And it is not only the nature conservation movement that is involved. How can you fit within the same framework ("methods," "recommendations," instructions—not to mention computers) a nature conservation team, the "Patriots," the "bad company," a historical-political club, and a soft toy circle? And yet what we call the amateur youth movement is still more multifarious and still more contradictory.

And is there any need to be so concerned about this contradictoriness? Are not contradictions, if you approach them dialectically, the source of all movement and development? Is development itself not the unity and struggle of opposites?

The misfortune of a fevered imagination is not just that it sees an "alternative or competition" in all dissent or dissimilarity. And not even that it creates an illusion of unity without opposites and without struggle. The misfortune comes if, instead of a struggle of opposites, a struggle begins **against them**—to their complete eradication, as it were.

There really are enough pretenders today.

Any "do-it-yourselfer" is a pretender in his own way. Any one of us is a "do-it-yourselfer" in his own way. And if you mean those who monopolize the right to speak on behalf of the general public, it is possible to meet such pretenders not only among them but also in the leadership of voluntary societies and among Komsomol workers...

However, here I catch myself wishing to bypass a very sore point somehow a bit more softly. For today there really are conformists, demagogues, extremists...

But it would be very convenient to put all this down to the "unofficials," thereby justifying our own timid ("cautionary") conformism or militant ("inhibitive") extremism. Is there any need to demonstrate today that such a danger exists?

...I asked a Komsomol worker: Where is the front line? Instead of replying, he formed a chain of many links, one end of which was formed by the subversive Radio Free Europe. The other end, if you so wished, could easily be extended even to the soft toy circle.

...Before the Komsomol congress we published a letter from commanders of nature conservation teams who appealed for the Komsomol's political leadership of amateur associations not to be supplanted by bureaucratic leadership. Today, on the threshold of the 19th party conference, the whole country is openly discussing such problems. But at that time a Komsomol Central Committee agent replied to the commanders via the newspaper: There is no need to force an open door. He perceived something "not ours" in the very way the question was formulated: There, you see, it is certainly not nature that concerns them...

I do not name the agent, if only because I myself prepared that "reply" for publication. Therefore I do not believe that it is possible to reduce all the contradictions of our presnt democratization to the subversive activity of malefactors—call them "bureaucrats," "chiefs," "functionaries," or, conversely, "unofficials." But it is significant that we have recently been hearing this very word "unofficials" (which has been condemned as an official term but has successfully taken root as a worker's term) not from those to whom it applies but precisely behind their backs. It is clearly not a chance habit: If something is unpleasant, contradictory, and incomprehensible, this means it is alien, foreign, "not ours." Have they dissociated themselves...?

Of course, not all amateur associations are the same, to put it mildly. For did they all come down to us without parachutes?

If this had been so, the law-enforcement organs would have carried out restructuring with their own resources alone.

The division of amateur associations into "positive" ones and all the rest is unsuccessful only in that it answers no question other than "Who is to blame?" Neither "Why?" nor "What is to be done?" The Leninskiy Rayon Komsomol Committee in Kazan (incidentally, this experience is spoken of as being positive) even created "an unofficial association with a 'plus' sign to combat unofficial associations with a 'minus' sign." Of course, the methods of "combat" do not include karate. Although that way was discussed...

The methods of combat for restructuring—this is the question of concern to everyone today.

For amateur associations they are determined, above all, by the state of our culture—ecological, economic, historical...

For the Komsomol this is a question of political culture.

"We have conquered by methods of suppression and will also be able to conquer by methods of management," Lenin wrote in the "Immediate Tasks of Soviet Power." Even then, in April 1918, the question was posed not of "schismatic," "cautionary," or "inhibitive" methods but of methods which mean that—let us return to Lenin—"the population really learns to a man how to manage and begins to manage."

This is the experience of work with amateur associations that I would like to talk about.

...Despite all the fears (and, incidentally, with the support of the Komsomol Central Committee), the All-Union Conference of the Nature Conservation Teams Movement was nonetheless held last December. And in one of its decisions it declared null and void the "methods coordination council" for their work. And it created another one. Its own.

In my view, this is good experience of struggle against real pretenders. At any rate, we will now have an opportunity to compare both these councils and to find out not in theory but in practice who are the "do-it-yourselfers" and who are the pretenders.

From the editors:

While setting forth its stand in this argument, the editorial board does not, nevertheless, consider it ended. In the very near future we will grant space to representatives of amateur youth associations, to those who support them, and to those who disagree with them.

SFRY Paper Interviews GLASNOST Editor

AU1506201488 Zagreb VJESNIK (PANORAMA SUBOTOM supplement) in Serbo-Croatian 4 Jun 88 p 6

[Milan Bekic report on an interview with Sergey Grigoryants, chief and responsible editor of Moscow GLASNOST—first three paragraphs introduction]

[Text] It was already difficult to find Sergey Grigoryants at the end of April, and now it is completely impossible. He is in prison for "spreading anti-Soviet activity," for "falsely describing the Soviet situation and making malicious statements for Western journalists."

First, police closed down the GLASNOST editorial board which was somewhere in the Moscow region. Grigoryants and his associates then moved to his apartment in Pervaya Naprudnaya Street (in the Moscow suburbs). During one of the following days, post office officials came and disconnected their telephone, allegedly because of unpaid bills. He went to the post office with receipts showing that the telephone bills had been paid regularly, so they reconnected it after some 15 days. A mistake, they said....

It was only then that one could reach him. Telephone in hand, he nervously walked through the room and answered questions from foreign journalists and friends about what was happening in Yerevan and Nagorno-Karabakh, and when the 17th issue of GLASNOST devoted to these drastic events was coming out. His wife was in the kitchen and his two daughters were getting ready for school. Our talk was frequently interrupted by telephone calls....

[Bekic] So, what is the situation with your journal now? Is it banned or not, and is it going to continue to be published?

[Grigoryants] The situation is unclear and stupid. Officially, the journal has not been founded at all, we were tacitly allowed to publish it. We had our editorial office in the Moscow region (in a rented dacha) where we prepared manuscripts and the journal itself. First "somebody" poisoned our watchdog and then militiamen started to come. Once they came in several cars, but when they saw television cameras belonging to foreign companies, they went off again. A campaign was then launched against us in the official newspapers with groundless accusations: They alleged that we were undermining the foundations of Soviet society, that we were spreading libels and untruths. We have sued LITERATURNAYA GAZETA over this, and we will also sue PRAVDA.

[Bekic] Is this unprecedented in the Soviet Union?

[Grigoryants] It is, but not only because of the suing. There has been no journal such as ours in the Soviet Union in the last 60 years, but neither have there been attacks such as I and the other members of the editorial board go through. We are called spies and the provokers of unrest and intranational conflicts. GLASNOST is the only one blamed for everything that is now coming to the surface (about which we also write).

[Bekic] What is in fact the concept of your journal, and did you ask for permission to start it?

[Grigoryants] It is an independent political magazine based on the pluralism of views and standpoints. We uncover fallacies in our past, particularly crimes committed, we argue with dogmatists, and rally the neo-Marxists of the world. Apart from members of the editorial staff, those who write for us are, from among domestic authors, Roy Medvedev, church theoreticians of the orthodox and other churches, including Ukrainian and Lithuanian catholics, and others. One of the authors is your theoretician Milovan Djilas, whose article "Aims and Limits of Gorbachev's Reforms" was published in the eighth issue of GLASNOST.

[Bekic] That is interesting. What happened with the permit to start the journal?

[Grigoryants] We asked for it, but the authorities have not said "yes" or "no." The problem is that there is no law on the press in the USSR. When we did not get any answer, we started the journal in Russian, English, Armenian, Bulgarian, Spanish, German, Polish, and French. True, the printing method and the number of copies are modest, but it is read all over the world. Our texts are carried by world agencies and the biggest newspapers (THE NEW YORK TIMES, THE WASHINGTON POST, and others).

[Bekic] Are you published elsewhere, apart from Moscow?

[Grigoryants] Certainly, we are read from the Ukraine to Vladivostok. For instance, KURIR GLASNOSTI is published in Sverdlovsk. It is not the complete journal, only selected articles. The same is done in Yerevan and we publish similar editions in Novosibirsk, Kharkov, and other Soviet towns. Some people find articles on religion interesting; some, those on history and destroyed cultural monuments; some, others on the misuse of Soviet psychiatry or on intranational relations. Here, I have just got a print of Number 17 which is entirely devoted to the recent events in Armenia and Azerbaijan. What happened there is a legacy from Lenin, Stalin, and certainly Brezhnev. New blood has been shed, but nothing has been solved....

[Bekic] And where do you publish issues in foreign languages?

[Grigoryants] The issue in English is published in New York, the French one in Paris, and the German in Switzerland. We also publish in Spain, Bulgaria, and Poland, where the journal is published by Solidarity.... If we had the printing press and paper, we would be able to sell a million copies in the USSR....

[Bekic] Well, one could say you are a world publishing house. How do you finance all this and do you have new ideas?

[Grigoryants] One can hardly call us a world publishing house, but we are read throughout the world. We obtain money in various ways: Musicians give concerts and give us proceeds from them, painters organize exhibitions, and we are also helped by many friends from the USSR and abroad. We must not sell the journal, lest we be accused of financial speculation, but we cope in other ways. Some of the new ideas are already being realized: We are preparing GLASNOST FOR YOUNG PEOPLE, a culture and art journal, and some friends from Paris suggested we start publishing the "Glasnost" series of books. We accepted and we will publish books that have not yet been published in the Soviet Union....

[Bekic] A very ambitious program. But, how are you going to carry out all that when you say your office in the Moscow region has also been closed down? Where are you going to work?

[Grigoryants] It will not be easy, but we will not give up easily. For the time being we are working in my apartment. We will try to find other rooms, at least for the 12 of us who are permanently employed. Independent contributors come only from time to time anyway, or just send their manuscripts....

[Bikic] Have the authorities, or perhaps the militia, summoned you? Are you counting on such a possibility?

[Grigoryants] Nobody has summoned me so far, and I do not believe they will. They are afraid because there is no press law and they know from the past that I do not usually mince words and sometimes talk about unpleasant things. I have been in prison twice and even then I said exactly what I thought. I doubt that they will take that risk in the times of glasnost....

[Bekic] When were you in prison and why? Are you not afraid that, nevertheless, it could happen to you for the third time?

[Grigoryants] Last time I spent in prison was the 1983-87 period. Therefore, I have been free for only 1 year. Before that I was in prison from 1975 to 1979.... For Soviet conditions the charges were really serious—I published an illegal bulletin on the violation of human rights in the USSR, on police interrogations, and on the practice of putting sane and innocent people into psychiatric wards.... I was arrested for the first time for publishing a similar, albeit much milder article in the journal YUNOST (youth) where I worked as a journalist. Therefore, I have spent 6.5 years in prison. There is no reason to arrest me for the third time. However, even if it happens, I am not afraid of prison. I am used to it and, a new scandal would then break out both here and in the world....

[Bekic] In your opinion, who is the greatest opponent of GLASNOST and your editorial plans? Is it the Moscow city authorities or somebody "at the top"?

[Grigoryants] Dogmatists, of course. Both those at the city level and at the top. As far as I know, the harshest critic of our activity and of glasnost in general is Yegor Ligachev, member of the Politburo and CPSU Central Committee secretary. One only has to read the attack against us and against other newspapers carried by PRAVDA because of the allegedly immoderate writing about the recent bloodshed in Nagorno-Karabakh and Sumgait. This was a new genocide committed against the Armenian people and some think that one should have kept silent about it.

[Bekic] Why do you think that Ligachev himself is behind that?

[Grigoryants] Because his mentality is closer to politicians of the past and because he does not support this kind of glasnost and such a rapid perestroyka. He would have preferred stiller waters....

It is a question to what extent Grigoryants is right. With all his enthusiasm and great ambitions (founding even a Glasnost Agency), he has nevertheless made a wrong assessment: He interpreted glasnost in his own way and ended up in prison again, although the USSR does not have a press law. For the time being, there is no scandal because of his arrest either, and GLASNOST has abruptly become silent. Maybe for good.

Agricultural

Uzbek Agriculture Officials Criticized

LD1706131588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 17 Jun 88

[Text] Only recently a report by the USSR State Committee for Statistics on fulfilling the cotton-sowing plan in Uzbekistan by 101.2 percent was seen as triumphant news, whereas it now leads to thought. Less than a year ago, a decision was adopted to reduce cotton procurement targets in the republic by 500,000 tonnes. This was perceived as the beginning of a serious struggle against the policy of a one-crop system for cotton, to eliminate a lack of proportion in agriculture, and to strengthen the food base. Agro-industrial workers apparently could be pleased. The long-awaited opportunity to introduce crop-rotation and a scientifically based system of agriculture was at hand. But no! Cotton-sowing once again was arbitrarily increased over the level planned. How then could potatoes and fodder crops be increased? Nine oblasts failed to meet the corn-sowing plan and all oblasts that for potatoes.

The state of affairs is no better for other crops. Cotton is more necessary to the country, according to the Uzbek Gosagroprom. It is then explained in a whisper: The planned yields are so great, thanks to the padded figures that formerly occurred, that we are not in a state to fulfill the cotton targets without additional hectares. And yet it is quite clear that without crop rotations there will be no growth in yield either. But how are they to be introduced with so much cotton around? And how is the food program to be dealt with or has it already been fulfilled in Uzbekistan? Generally, however you look at it, it emerges that the interests of the officials in the republic's agroprom contradict those of agriculture.

Agricultural Developments for 11-17 Jun Noted

LD1806055088 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 11-17 June. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

11 June:

Grain has been harvested on the the first 10,000 hectares in Uzbekistan. Secondary sowing is being carried out on harvested areas. (0204)

Azerbaijan has begun harvesting grain. Winter crops will be harvested from almost 500,000 hectares. The farms have pledged to sell more than 300,000 tonnes of grain to the state. (0800)

12 June:

A PRAVDA article by Artemenko examines the state of affairs with irrigation in Uzbekistan. More than 4 million hectares of land is irrigated in the republic today, but owing to the insufficient development of irrigation systems in many rayons, Uzbekistan falls short of the projected targets for cotton collection by 350-400,000 tonnes annually. Most valuable fertile fields are irrigated in a primitive way, and the shortage of water becomes increasingly acute. (0300)

Rice sowing is coming to an end in Tajikistan. Rice has been sown on over 8,000 hectares. This is considerably more than in previous years. (1100)

17 June:

A difficult situation has developed in the fields of the Mari ASSR non-Chernozem Zone. Recent hot weather has dried up the land. The growth of spring crops has been slowed down and more than 40,000 hectares of winter crops and perennial grasses have been burnt out. The harvest of root crops is under threat. Urgent measures are being taken. Additional sowing and resowing of crops, additional cultivation and additional fertilizing, and artificial irrigation are being carried out. A differentiated approach is being ensured for every field. The party obkom, the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Council of Ministers of the Mari ASSR have addressed an open letter to all the working people of the autonomous republic in which they call on them to display good organization and discipline and to help farms overcome the consequences of the drought. (0600)

Harvesting of grain crops has started in the south of the country. The harvest will soon start in the major grain growing regions. Reliable machinery is needed to avert or reduce grain losses. Many of the new combines supplied by the state agro-industrial committee are incomplete. As a consequence the state and collective farms are losing a lot of grain. (1100)

In Uzbekistan, 1 year ago a decision was made to reduce the production of cotton, for the republic badly needs diversifying in agricultural production. But instead of implementing this decision, the area sown to cotton was increased by more than 22,500 hectares compared to target. But what about vegetables, potatoes, and feed? Nine oblasts have thwarted the plan of sowing corn, and all of them the plan of sowing potatoes. Cotton is more needed by the country, they claim in the Uzbek agro-industrial complex, and they explain that their previous over reporting has led to their plan now being too high for republican famers to meet. In other words, the interests of the functionaries of the republican agro-industrial complex are in contradiction with agricultural interests. (1800)

Scientific

Reportage on Soviet-Bulgarian Space Mission

Cosmonauts' Health Noted

LD1706202588 Moscow TASS in English 1936 GMT 17 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 17 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikolay Zheleznov, reporting from the area of the landing of the Soviet-Bulgarian space crew:

All 42 experiments planned for the Soviet-Bulgarian space mission were carried out. Scientific equipment, manufactured in Bulgaria for the flight, remained aboard the orbital station Mir.

The crew has taken back to earth only samples of alloys and computer disks with the results of astrophysical experiments and spectral photography of the Balkan peninsula, and with computer-analyzed results of medical and psychophysical checkups of the cosmonauts.

Alexey Leonov, deputy head of the Soviet Cosmonaut-Training Centre, said that this mission was special due to its extended duration as compared with previous short-time visiting missions.

Although the Soviet-Bulgarian flight lasted only three days more, physicians have got additional information on the nature of the cosmonauts' adaptation in the initial stage.

In their opinion, Soviet Cosmonaut Anatoliy Solovev and Bulgarian Cosmonaut Aleksandur Aleksandrov, who made their first space flights, are feeling somewhat worse than members of previous seven-day visiting missions. Physicians believe seven days of flight is a critical time limit when a cosmonaut's organism has not yet adapted well to weightlessness and stands the return to earth better.

The weather in the landing area, near Dzhezkazgan, and at the space port where the crew have come after their return from the Mir station, is unusually hot.

The temperature there stood at 42 degrees centigrade at noon.

Kazakhstan has seen no such hot days during the launches and landings of space ships for 13 years, since the Soviet-U.S. Soyuz-Apollo space flight.

Cosmonauts Meet Press

LD1806164488 Moscow TASS in English 1631 GMT 18 Jun 88

[Text] Baykonur Cosmodrome June 18 TASS—The Soviet-Bulgarian crew met with journalists here today to share their impressions from their recent space mission.

The press conference started unusually because first questions came from deputy head of the cosmonauts training centre Aleksey Leonov. "Did you have any unusual sensations when you encountered weightlessness and returned to the earth?" he asked.

Anatoliy Solovev said that during "the entry into zero-gravity" he felt discomfort. On the third and fourth days there came a feeling that he had unlimited control over his body. This recalls pictures seen by many people in their sleep, when arms extend into wings and allow you to soar in the sky, the Soviet cosmonaut said.

The Bulgarian research cosmonaut, Aleksandur Aleksandrov, also had interesting impressions. At the moment of landing he felt a sudden loss of control in the muscles of his legs and, on the contrary, an upsurge in the strength of his arms. Early today he measures the strength of his right hand. It was up by 50 per cent.

Flight engineer Viktor Savinykh, a veteran of two missions which lasted several months, thought the mission was too short.

A representative of the Glavkosmos Space Agency, Stepan Bogodyazh, said that in that case the duration of the flight was determined by the volume of the research programme prepared by the Bulgarian side. He also touched upon the forthcoming Soviet-French space expedition in December, during which a spacewalk by the French cosmonaut is planned.

Week's Activities Summarized

LD1906113988 Moscow TASS in English 1048 GMT 19 Jun 88

["USSR: Space Exploration—Chronicle of the Week"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow June 19 TASS—The ten-day Soviet-Bulgarian space flight, which ended on June 17, has been the 13th international expedition in Soviet manned spaceships. The Cosmonauts Anatoliy Solovev, Tiktor Savinykh and their Bulgarian colleague Aleksandur Aleksandrov carried out jointly with Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov, the crew of the main expedition in the orbital complex Mir, a large volume of research work. The programme included more than 40 experiments in the field of astrophysics, long distance earth surface probing, outer space biology and medicine.

A considerable part of this work was done with the use of the equipment created by Bulgarian specialists. Thus, in particular, the "Spektre-256" instrument designed at the Space Research Institute of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences was used to carry out spectral photography of sections of Bulgaria's territory, study the optical characteristics of the atmosphere and the level of its pollution. The information thus obtained will be used to resolve scientific and economic problems.

The astrophysical complex "Rozhen" was used for the study of the galactic and extragalactic sources of radiation, of the interplanetary space, physical processes in the earth's atmosphere. On top of that, samples of monocrystals and composite materials with valuable industrial properties have been obtained. A considerable part in the work of the internationaal crew was devoted to the study of human work capacity in the period of adaptation to weightlessness.

On June 11 artificial earth satellite "Cosmos-1952" was launched in the USSR. Apart from research equipment designed to carry on outer space exploration, it has on board a system for a correct measurement of orbital elements, the transmission back to earth of data on the operation of instruments. Such equipment is also installed in the "Cosmos-1953" satellite which was put into orbit on June 14.

'Soyuz' Spacecraft Maneuvering Reported

LD1806133988 Moscow TASS in English 1314 GMT 18 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 18 TASS—TASS correspondent reporting from the Mission Control Centre:

Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov continue their mission aboard the Mir space research complex.

Under the flight programme the Soyuz TM-5 spacecraft was separated from the Kvant astrophysical module and docked with the transfer unit of the station. The change was needed to ensure further transportation operations aimed at bringing supplies of fuel and other cargoes with the help of Progress unmanned spacecraft.

Before the undocking, the cosmonauts moved into the transport spacecraft and closed air locks. At 14 hours 11 minutes Moscow time the Soyuz TM-5 spacecraft separated from the orbital complex.

On commands from the Mission Control Centre the station made a 180 degree turn. Then the cosmonauts carried out the mooring of the spacecraft of the station and docked it with the transfer unit at 14 hours 27 minutes.

The on-board systems of the spacecraft functioned normally at all stages of the manoeuvring.

Joint Efforts for Nuclear Power Safety Urged

LD1706103788 Moscow TASS in English 0938 GMT 17 Jun 88

[Text] Leningrad June 17 TASS—"As reserves of organic fuel are shrinking, we will not be able to increase the production of energy without nuclear power engineering", said Vyacheslav Sedov, a corresponding member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. "So, we should ensure its absolute safety. To this end, specialists in the USSR, the United States and France, which possess the greatest civilian nuclear reactor capacities, should pool their efforts".

The well-known nuclear scientist, director of the Leningrad Power Engineering Institute, commented in a Tass interview the decision to extend the Soviet-U.S. Agreement on Scientific-Technical Cooperation in Peaceful Uses of Atomic Power.

The foremost areas of cooperation should become, in the scientist's opinion, not so much the search for new technical solutions for reactors as personnel training. "The accident at Chernobyl was the result of the unprecedented coincidence of circumstances generated by the personnel's mistakes. The same reasons were behind the accident at the atomic power station near Harrisburg, USA. We can and should organise joint personnel training with account of the experience gained", Vyacheslov Sedov stressed.

"It is necessary that special joint programmes be developed to cover all aspects of nuclear power plant equipment safety and seminars of specialists operate on a permanent basis. This form of international cooperation has proved its efficiency in medicine, for instance", the scientist said.

Military

Afghanistan Veterans Incited To Desert

PM1706102988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Jun 88 First Edition p 3

[Special correspondents Lieutenant Colonel N. Belan and Major N. Burbyga article: "Snakes Hunt at Night; About the Advice Which Anti-Soviet Agents Are Trying To Foist on Servicemen Returning From Afghanistan"]

[Text] "Here they are, samples of those concoctions," they told us at the political department of the limited contingent of Soviet forces in Afghanistan, pointing to dozens of leaflets and diverse brochures.

At various times in the past we had already come across this type of "material" in Afghanistan. We recall a morning in the fall of last year, for instance, at one of the military outposts guarding the road through the Salang. We came out of the gate and there we saw white bits of paper, weighed down with stones, lying about here and there. They had not been there the previous evening; they had appeared during the night. We picked them up. It was an appeal to Soviet servicemen concocted by the subversive organization NTS (People's Labor Alliance).

"There are more than enough such 'goodies' here," Major General A. Zakharov, chief of the political department, told us. "And the anti-Soviet leaflets are increasing in number. They are being dropped in areas where our units are stationed, along the roads and paths, at military posts, and garrisons. The psychological warfare is just as well thought out and directed as the actions of the armed opposition."

Let us add: It is highly sophisticated and perfidious. They showed us a newspaper. It appeared to be our KRASNAYA ZVEZDA. Superficially it hardly differed from the real thing. But it was a forgery with a filthy, slanderous, anti-Soviet content.

In a prominent spot, in the center of the front-page there is a picture of a soldier breaking up a machinegun. This was followed by provocative exhortations to disobedience and desertion. These exhortations were echoed in a leaflet of the "anti-Bolshevik bloc of peoples" which was disseminated not so long ago.

Leaflets of a Ukrainian nationalist foreign center call for inter-nation strife in the USSR.

Essentially these leaflets have a lot in common. They share malicious hatred of our country, slanderous statements about its domestic and foreign policy, and distortion of the internationalist essence of our assistance to Afghanistan. Reading them we could not get rid of a feeling that all this was very familiar. Suddenly we realized—it is, almost word for word, borrowed from the fascists. We looked through old papers, and right enough, the same tone, the same choice of words.

So for instance, the "instructions" on the use of propaganda under the so-called "Barbarossa Plan" stated that it was necessary to claim that "the enemies of Germany were not the peoples of the Soviet Union but exclusively the Jewish-Bolshevik Soviet government with its officials and the Communist Party...." "It is important to point out with utmost clarity," the instructions went on to say, "that the German military command has not come to the country as an enemy of the population. More than that, it wants to liberate the population from the tyranny of the Soviets."

The "instructions" were followed. The 400 million fascist leaflets dropped on our troop positions between June and October 1941 alone, spoke in Russian of "liberation from the Bolsheviks," and in the languages of the other peoples of our country about "liberation from the Russians." In 1943 Goebbels himself wrote an appeal "To All the Peoples" of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union in which he exhorted them to fight against Bolshevism, for the freedom of the individual, for the freedom of conscience, for home ownership, and the freedom of labor.

So it emerges that even the fascists were champions of freedom. The world knows well what "freedom" they brought. Compared with the atrocities of the Hitlerites, even the evil deeds of Genghis Khan, Batyy, and Mamay pale. This shows up the monstrosity of the lies spawned by Goebbels and his department.

The fascist invaders were assisted in the dissemination of these "ideas" by the Vlasovites, the NTS and its branches in the shape of the "Russian Nazi Party," nationalists, and other renegades. Now their spiritual descendants are exploiting their sinister experience to exacerbate the situation around Afghanistan.

With the coming into force of the Geneva agreements and the beginning of the withdrawal of Soviet forces, the masters of the "black" propaganda have stepped up their efforts. This flurry of activity is not taking place in isolation, it has to be viewed in conjuction and against the backdrop of the violations of the agreements on Afghanistan signed in Geneva 14 April. And there are many details about such violations. They testify in particular to widespred transfers of weapons from Pakistani territory to Afghnistan. In addition the so-called Islamic regiments which are used to reinforce the forces of the armed opposition inside Afghanistan are still stationed on Pakistani territory. There are also instances of the infiltration into Afghanistan across the Pakistani border of foreign instructors to train insurgents in the tactics of combat operations and the use of modern weapons, specifically, the Stinger missiles. So there is no denying that the special services and their hangers-on are trying to exploit the situation to the full. So how are they bidding farewell to our servicemen, what parting advice are they giving them for the road?

Above all, they are trying to persuade the servicemen who have carried out their international duty in Afghanistan that they are very special. They are egging them on: When you get home, unite, and embark on wrecking the corridors of power. Even the word "restructuring" is being used. Does this perhaps mean that the anti-Soviet agents care about the fate of restructuring? The very mention of it is ridiculous. They are conducting their own game and playing their card. The NTS, for instance, setting forth its program, is suggesting that people get in touch with its center abroad and gives the address.

The authors of leaflets of this kind and the announcers of the various radio stations have little hope of converting our boys to their faith. The anti-Soviet agents whose attention is now focused on the servicemen returning home from Afghanistan are pursuing a long-term aim. They are trying to inject the virus of lies into people's hearts in the hope that it will grow into a cancer in time. Their minimum program is to instill in the demobilized internationalist servicemen the idea that they should dissociate themselves from the Komsomol, from war and labor veterans, from all the "non-Afghans." To what end? In order to make them withdraw into themselves with their problems and their reminiscences, to cut them off from active social life.

And so a situation is being formed (or rather has already taken shape) in which the readiness of our people to welcome in a worthy fashion their sons who have been through the grim trials of a combat situation is being put to the test. That, on the one hand. And on the other hand, it is not easy for a country in peacetime to have thousands of killed and wounded and more than 300 people missing in Afghanistan. Behind these figures there is a pain which even time cannot heal. What a great deal of concern, warmth, and attention do we owe our "Afghans" and the families of those who were killed. The party and government have already adopted a range of political, economic, and social measures which create the basis for putting this readiness into action. Everything hinges on their implementation at the local level. This is where hitches still occur, this is where the breeding ground of the "Afghans'" grievances and their isolation lies. And symptoms of "isolationist" sentiments unfortunately do exist. Furthermore, the striving to keep aloof, to isolate themeselves, is not all that harmless.

The propaganda barrage around the internationalist servicemen is not just rumbling on in Afghanistan. Its echoes can be heard also in our country. And not just the echoes, by the way. The notorious "Doveriye" group deemed it necessary to issue a special statement timed to coincide with the beginning of the withdrawal of our forces from Afghanistan. It is worthwhile to compare its verbal ramblings with the leaflets compiled by the NTS, the nationalists, and the like, to see with whom the "Doverists" are singing in unison.